

THE  
ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.



[ FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE INVASION  
OF INDIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT ]

34731

BY

**SANTOSH KUMAR DAS, M. A. ( Hist. & Econ. )**

PROFESSOR, NARASINHA DUTT COLLEGE, HOWRAH,

AUTHOR OF "THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS" AND

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS".

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Opinions on Prof. S. K. DAS'S  
**THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA**

FIRST EDITION

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TO  
THE SACRED MEMORY OF  
THE LATE SIR ASHUTOSH MUKHERJI  
IN HUMBLE APPRECIATION OF  
ALL THAT HE HAS DONE  
FOR THE CAUSE OF  
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## CONTENTS

Introduction	...	...	...	...	IX	:
Chapter I.						
The Palæolithic Age	...	...	...	...	1	
Chapter II.						
The Neolithic Age	...	...	...	...	3	
Chapter III.						
The Copper Age	...	...	...	...	7	
Chapter IV.						
The R̥gvedic Age	...	...	...	...	22	
Chapter V.						
The Brāhmaṇa Period	...	...	...	...	81	
Chapter VI.						
The Age of Gautama Buddha		...	...	...	179	
Index I. Sources with the Subjects	...	...	...	...	281	
Index II. Subjects	...	...	...	...	324	
Index III. Proper Names	...	...	...	...	335	





## PREFACE

At the beginning of the session 1922-23 I delivered a series of lectures on "The Economic History of Ancient India" to the students of the Kalikāta Vidyāpīṭha and as a token of my humble connection with that noble institution I published those lectures in January 1925.

In bringing out this second edition I have necessarily to make substantial additions and alterations so much so that the work has to be published in two volumes. I have avoided on principle all theoretical disquisitions throughout this work. It has been my aim rather simply to present the facts in a connected manner with a view to illustrate, as far as possible, the gradual development of economic progress from the earliest times. I have always indicated the sources of my information in order that my conclusions may be tested with reference to the authorities on which they are based. In this connection I beg to acknowledge the invaluable help and guidance I have received from the researches of Professors Zimmer, Macdonell and Keith, Drs. Fick and Rhys Davids and Professor Hopkins who have dealt with the economic data on the basis respectively of the Vedas, the Jātakas and the Epics.

I take this opportunity of expressing publicly my thanks to those savants and scholars who have favoured me with critical appreciation of the first edition of this work and to the authorities of the Benares Hindu University and the University of Calcutta who immediately after its publication kindly recommended it for introduction into their Post-graduate classes in Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Prafulla Chandra College  
Bagerhat  
The 3rd July 1937.

SANTOSH KUMAR DAS.





## INTRODUCTION

The starting point of all human activity is the existence of wants. To satisfy hunger and thirst, to obtain shelter and to provide clothing were the chief aims of primitive man and constitute even to-day the motor-forces of all society. As man develops, his wants grow in number and refinement. However civilised he becomes, his material welfare is the foundation on which the entire structure of his larger life is built up. Ever since his creation man has waged an unceasing struggle not only to free himself from the vagaries of Nature but also to modify and utilise the forces of Nature to his own account. Any one, therefore, who wishes to engage in the study of human society can hardly neglect man's relations to his material environment, so essential to his life and progress. A study of this material basis will also enable him to disclose the influence of forces otherwise unnoticed and thus to throw new light on the explanation of the past or the moulding of the future.

Yet strangely enough this material or economic basis of human existence hardly drew the attention of historians except incidentally. With congenital human weakness for the uncommon and the extraordinary, they generally emphasised the cataclysmic factors in society like war and exaggerated the importance of the Supermen, the Heroes of History. As Dr. Price says "Political changes and constitutional developments, the rise and fall of dynasties and statesmen, the vicissitudes of military and naval conflict filled the canvas and presented tempting opportunities for able draftmanship and rich contrasted colouring." Thus the normal and actual development of human society, through the arts of peace and co-operation has been overshadowed by the lurid clouds of war and political strife. If, therefore, we want to re-establish History on her only true pedestal of truth and humanity, every individual writer and teacher of history must immediately start the work of expiation and search into the intimate relation that subsisted between Man and the surrounding Nature which exerted the most powerful influence on the evolution of human life and thought.

As regards this material environment we must take into account the physical features of a country, its geographical position and climate, the

nature of its soil, its productive capacity, the conditions of its food supply etc., and before we proceed to a study of the economic history of Ancient India a consideration of these with special reference to India must engage our attention so that we may see to what extent man in Ancient India was permanently affected by the material basis of his existence.

According to Geologists India was represented in Palæozoic times by the central plateau and the northern fringe of the Aravalli mountains. To its north lay a shallow sea covering the area of modern Afganisthan, Rajputna and the Himalayan regions. In Tertiary times the Gondwana beds were formed extending over Assam and the Eastern Himalayas and this nucleus of India was connected with the continent of Africa by a stretch of dry land. At this time as a result of volcanic cataclysms the Gondwana continent was broken up and an area of 200,000 square miles was covered with lava, thus resulting in the formation of the Deccan. In the Pliocene period due to volcanic activity there commenced the great upheaval to the north, resulting in the formation of the Himalayas. The deterioration of rock on both sides due to the action of rain and glaciers, the collected alluvium of ages brought down by the hill-torrents filled up in course of time the shallow gap and thus gradually the river systems of the Indus and the Ganges were formed and India attained roughly her present shape.

Thus formed India became remarkable for her natural boundaries, being surrounded on all sides by mountains and seas. In ancient times the sea was a formidable barrier against foreign invasions. Crafts from Egypt or Mesopotamia, from China or Java could come with favourable wind to trade with India but the idea of conquest could not be conceived. For the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal was not very easy to cross and there was no country in the East or the West which had a sufficiently strong fleet to undertake the conquest of India. The mountains no doubt contained passes but they could be crossed with difficulty, as most of them were very narrow, high and therefore covered with snow during greater part of the year. The narrowness of these passes made it impossible for barbaric hordes to come in sufficient numbers to overwhelm, far less to obliterate, the settled civilisation of previous ages. Thus her natural boundaries which

made India virtually immune from foreign invasions not only rendered the Indian civilisation at once original and unique in character but also allowed time to her socio-economic institutions to become deep-rooted and in a great measure able to withstand the modifying influences of later invaders.

The socio-economic life of man is equally influenced by the climate and configuration of his habitat. His food supply, which depends on the climate and soil influences him directly and regulates his efforts. Moreover, climate influences his capacity for labour. People of warmer regions are less active and vigorous than men of cooler regions. The Indo-Aryans of the Vedic Age when they lived in the cooler climate of the Punjab and U. P. were famous for their martial prowess and spirit of adventure which were for a long time kept alive by the necessity of holding their own against the non-Aryans. But when after the resistance of the non-Aryans was broken they had settled in the Gangetic plain for a certain amount of time the enervating influence of the warm climate told upon them and made them languid and fond of repose and thus unable to follow habitually any standard of good workmanship or to soar always the height of workmanship of which they were capable. In warmer latitudes early marriages are always universal and hence the rate of birth is very high and consequently we find 'a low respect for human life'. For this reason Indo-Aryan society of the Vedic Age is not marked by early marriage which grew up along with the pernicious custom of infanticide in the warmer parts of the country. Men of warmer regions require simple food, clothing and housing while people of cooler regions require strong drink and nourishing food to sustain them and such clothing and dwelling house as may protect them against weather. Hence in the comparatively drier regions the entrance and enclosure aspects of the dwelling house were more prominent and the references to these features and their figurative use accordingly occur in texts like the R̥gveda which were mainly of Midlandic origin. With the march of Aryan arms into the rain-flooded lower Gangetic valley the roof naturally had to be built up carefully and we therefore find much care bestowed on the construction of the thatched roof in the house-construction outlined in the Atharvaveda, which is pre-eminently a book of the Angirāsas, who are definitely located in and



nature of its soil, its productive capacity, the conditions of its food supply etc., and before we proceed to a study of the economic history of Ancient India a consideration of these with special reference to India must engage our attention so that we may see to what extent man in Ancient India was permanently affected by the material basis of his existence.

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associated with the very same lower Gangetic provinces in Pauranic tradition. For similar reasons the Vedic Aryans who lived in the cooler climate of the Punjab and U. P. wore dress mostly made of wool and ate food in which wheat, wine and meat formed a principal part. With the progress of Aryan arms into the warmer eastern parts of the country we find a growing dislike for wine and meat, specially beef and the substitution of rice for wheat as food and of linen, cotton and silk for woolen dress.

Owing to the rigours of climate, however, the realms of snow in the Himalayan regions long remained devoid of culture and economic progress while in the rainless and very hot climate of the sandy desert of Rajputna man long remained a semi-nomad moving from place to place in search of good pasturage for his flock. In the Indo-Gangetic plains, on the other hand, the genial climate (which is 'milder than the climate of most other countries in the same latitude'), the rich soil and the large navigable rivers have produced their natural effects. Progress of agriculture became rapid and settled life began very early with all its concomitants—land system, village system, etc. Prosperous cities sprang up on the banks of rivers which afforded every facility for trade and communication while the abundance of agricultural and mineral wealth led to an early growth of industry, and the navigability of the rivers coupled with a long coast-line gave birth to maritime and trading activity. Under the glaring tropical Sun the moist soil became fertile beyond imagination, producing for man in lavish abundance all that he needs for life. But it also subdued the mind with the overwhelming force of its fecundity. It could not have been otherwise than that the exuberance of tropical Nature should have captivated the mind of man, stirring up his imagination, filling it with brilliant designs or patterns for his handiwork and fostering in him a love of contemplation and luxurious ease. Indeed the genial climate and the rich soil bringing the means of subsistence within easy reach left men sufficiently at leisure to develop the higher arts of civilisation.

Climate determines not only the productive activity and standard of living of man but also the productivity of his fields and the nature and amount of his harvests. Wheat, for instance, which requires a cool climate

is the principal crop of the Punjab while rice which flourishes in warm but damp regions is the chief crop of the lower valley of the Ganges. Cotton, hemp etc., have likewise their localised area in keeping with climatic causes. Climate thus exercises a direct influence on agriculture and an indirect one on industry.

India has been blessed with different varieties of soil which combined with the great variety of physical features, climate and rainfall enable her to produce almost every kind of vegetable life, so that agriculture naturally became the mainstay of her people from time immemorial. Among the four important varieties of soil in India the alluvial soil is usually rich in phosphoric acid, potash, lime and magnesia and is suitable for the growth of kharif and rabi crops. The trap soils which occupy the next place of honour produce, when porous and light as on uplands and hill-slopes, millets and pulses and when thick and more fertile as in the low lands, cotton and wheat besides millets and pulses. Regar or black cotton soil, supposed to be of volcanic origin is highly compact, tenacious and retentive of moisture and is therefore particularly favourable to the growth of cotton and rabi crops though kharif crops also are conveniently grown in many cases. Crystalline soils which widely differ in different provinces agree in being generally deficient in nitrates and phosphoric acids. "The clayey and brownish loams of the low lands are however fertile" and favourable to the growth of a great variety of crops, principal among them being rice.

India is equally famous for her vast forest areas. The Vedas speak of forests repeatedly. The Rāmāyaṇa describes at length the forest region to the east and south of Mithilā and speaks of the Pañchavaṭi forest and the celebrated Dandakāranya. In the Buddhist literature we read of the Andhavana of Kośala, the Sitāvana of Magadha, Pacinavamsa-dāya of the Sākiya territory and of the Mahākalinga forest. Besides helping the progress of agriculture by storing up rain-water in the soil and by keeping the atmosphere sufficiently cool so as to cause the fall of rain when rain-bearing clouds pass over them, these forests supplied an essential part of the economic needs of the people. They provided them with wild rice (nīvāra), esculent vegetables, fuel and with the materials for the construction of houses, chariots, boats, domestic furniture, sacrificial implements and



animals. They were a constant source of supply of medicinal herbs and plants as well as of sacrificial grass. They also supplied the people with aloe, bdellium, spikenard, resin, comphor, sandalwood, lac, hides, fruits and honey.

India is also blessed with the soil and climate capable of bearing animals useful to man. From the economic point of view the domestic animals are more useful than wild ones. Of the former horses and elephants were used for riding and transport purposes, both in peace and war; asses, mules, bullocks and buffaloes were used as beasts of burden or in drawing waggons while the horse and the bullock helped in the cultivation of the soil. The cow, sheep and goat supplied the people with milk or with flesh and hides. The cow-dung was used as manure or as fuel in the form of cow-dung cakes while the wool of the sheep and the goat was made into blankets. The people obtained a supply of musk from the musk-deer, chāmaras from the tail of the yak and skins from the wild boar, the wild deer and the black antelope. The tusks of wild elephants, skins of the tiger and the lion and the horn and bones of some of the animals were also used for various purposes.

The Greeks when they came to India were struck with the mineral wealth of India whose importance in the economic development of the country could never be exaggerated. Gold was obtained by Indians even in prehistoric times not only from river-washings but also from gold-bearing quartz and by the end of the Vedic period they became familiar with zinc, lead and iron in addition to gold, silver, copper and tin. In the words of Megasthenes "The soil too has underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold, silver, copper and iron in no small quantity and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of ornament and of use as well as the implements and accoutrements of war" (Bk. I. Fragment 1. Cf. Diodorus II. 36). Diamond and salt mines existed and varieties of precious stones and oyster pearls from pearl-beds on the sea-coast fetched a high price in the western markets.

To crown all, India occupied a position of great advantage, almost at the centre of the Eastern Hemisphere and at the head of the Indian Ocean, so that her trade-routes radiated in all directions—westwards for

Arabia and Egypt, south for Ceylon, south-west for south Africa, and south-east for the Malaya Archipelago and the Far East. No doubt the Indian coast-line is very poor in indentations and land-locked bays but in ancient times when the size of trading vessels was not so large as in our days a large number of fair weather anchorages were available as is proved by the later evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. The ancient mariners took advantage not only of the monsoons but also of the surface currents or drifts which even now affect the coasts of India. Thus both the East and the West came to be the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her artisans and merchants. As Sir William Hunter well remarks "From the earliest days India has been a trading country. The industrial genius of her inhabitants even more than her natural wealth and her extensive sea-board, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands. In contrast with the Arabian peninsula on the west, with the Malaya peninsula on the east or with the equally fertile empire of China, India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe" (*Indian Empire*, third edition, p. 958). As a consequence she had the balance of trade clearly in her favour, a balance which could only be settled by the export of precious metals from the countries, commercially indebted to her. For a genial climate and a fertile soil, coupled with the industrial genius of her people and a judicious distribution of land among all classes made India virtually independent of foreign nations in respect of necessities of life while the ideal of simple living and high thinking must have rendered the secondary wants of the mass of the people very limited in number. Thus has she been for many centuries the final depository of a large portion of the metallic wealth of the world. It was this flow or "drain" of gold into India which so far back as the first century A. D. was the cause of alarm and regret to Pliny. It was probably also the same flow of gold into the country that even earlier still in the fifth century B. C. enabled the small Indian satrapy of Darius to pay him 360 Eubolic talents of gold, worth fully £1,290,000 and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces (Herodotus III).

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# THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

## CHAPTER I.

### The Palæolithic Age.

"The pleasant belief of poets that primitive man enjoyed in an earthly paradise a golden age free from sin, sorrow, want and death finds no support from the researches of sober, matter-of-fact science. On the contrary, abundant and conclusive evidence proves that the earliest man whether in India, Europe or elsewhere were rude savages, cowering for shelter under rocks or trees or roughly housed in Caves and huts."<sup>1</sup> He does not know how to pasture cattle or to cultivate the land. He does not know private property in land and division of labour. He was ignorant of any metal and even of pottery. He was dependent for tools or weapons of all kinds on sticks, stones and bones. The sticks of course have perished and the bones have mostly shared the same fate on account of the white ants. The stone implements laboriously shaped by chipping into forms suitable for hammering, cutting, boring and scraping are found in large numbers in many parts of India. Apart from the Burma find containing stone implements "showing distinct traces of having been worked by man"<sup>2</sup> the Godavari flake furnishes "evidence in India of the existence of man at a much earlier period than Europe."<sup>3</sup> According to Obermaier the Godavari flake was probably used in scraping the bark from branches and smoothing them down into poles; while the rough Coup-de-poing type as we get in Nerbada is well adapted to dividing flesh and dressing hides. The Godavari and Nerbada finds are generally accepted as Pre-Chellean<sup>4</sup> to indicate their Chronological Correlation with Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford History of India — Vincent A. Smith. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Keith in the Records of the Geological Survey, Vol. XXXVII. p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. H. F. Blanford in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Osborn in his Men of the Old Stone Age, 1918, pp. 129—30 dates the Pre-Chellean industry at 125,000 years.



At the outset the occurrence of rocks suitable for fashioning tools and weapons no doubt played a great part in the selection of habitation sites by early Palæolithic Indians. Quartzine stone is specially suitable for the making of tools and weapons and therefore they mustered strong in the Cuddapah, Guntur and Nellore districts and the neighbouring tracts of Madras where quartzite abounds. As large migrations ceased and comparatively settled life began, they developed æsthetic instincts in the choice of colours and progressed in craftsmanship. A distinct progress is discernible from the Burma find to the Godavari flake which is "formed from a compact light-coloured agate"<sup>5</sup> and the more southern the find the better the finish. The proximity of rivers to rocks highly suitable for implements also helped them in the selection of habitation sites. The palæoliths obtained from Dhenkenal, Angul, Talchir, Sambalpur, Chakradharpur, Nuagardh, Ghatsila, Morhana Pahar, Partabgunj and Jubbulpur unmistakably prove that the banks of the Suvarṇarekhā, the Sangai, the Bijnai and their affluents flowing eastwards as well as other rivers draining into the Ganges or its affluents north-eastwards from high plateaux were as much centres of palæolithic culture as the South Indian rivers. Probably also in some cases Palæolithic settlements sprang up near by lakes. At Heera and Chik Mulungi, about twenty miles above Kaira a large variety of weapons has been found which belong to this age.

In the Billa Surgam Caves of Karnaul at least two hundred bone weapons and implements have been found. Awls, many kinds of arrow-heads, small daggers, scrapers, chisels, gouge, wedges, axe-heads etc., form part of the various kinds of things which bear definite traces of being worked up by man. Definite proof exists of the use of stones as well by these Cave-dwellers. Thus in the Cathedral Cave of Billa Surgam 'two or three bones were found showing distinct traces of having been scraped with a hard and sharp implement the marks being such as would be made by a sharp stone flake'. The flesh of the animals killed by these mighty hunters might have been smoked before being taken as the presence of the cinder plainly brings out the existence of fire.

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<sup>5</sup> Dr. Oldham in the record of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 65.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Neolithic Age.

In the next stage of human advance, men were for a long time still ignorant of metals except gold and were consequently obliged to continue using stone tools and weapons. The stone implements and weapons were ground, grooved and polished and thus converted into highly finished objects adapted to diverse purposes. Their main types are: (1) grooved axe with pecked groove; (2) celt with (a) blade thick near edge, (b) with long slender form, (c) with nearly round section, with nearly diamond section, with nearly rectangular section; (3) wedge-form; (4) chisel-form; (5) chipped shade; (6) pestle; and (7) hammer-stone. These can be studied to special advantage in the Bellary district where Fraser discovered in 1872 the north Bellary and Kapgallu Neolithic remains. The north-east slope of the hill here was apparently a Neolithic factory-site and the largest manufacturing industry of polished stones with tools in every stage of manufacture flourished there.

The Neolithic Indians were no longer mere hunters but cultivators as well, as the abundant varieties of mealing stones, corn-crushers and pounding stones prove. In fact, the people were rather vegetarian than carnivorous like the preceding men of the Old Stone Age, as the peaceful implements far out-number the weapons for war.

By this time many of them learnt to live in thatched primitive huts as the presence of straw in the cinder-mounds clearly prove. In their articles for domestic use they showed great fascination for colour. Their knives, saws, drills and lancets were made of beautiful chert, agate chalcedony, blood-stone and rock-crystal and went to make up the comforts of their economic household.

The Neolithic Indians used pottery which was "dull-coloured and rough-surfaced with but little decoration."<sup>6</sup> The finds are distributed

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<sup>6</sup> Bruce-Foote in *Notes on the Ages and Distribution of the Foote Collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities, Madras, 1216, p. 34.*

through the district of Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Tinnevely, Baroda, Kathiwar, Beluchistan and other regions. Some of the Bellary potteries were "impressed with finger-tips five or four or two in number. A note worthy form is vessels pierced with a certain number of holes in two pieces of grey pottery from the same place four or ten in number. Closely associated with these are forms analogous to the fabric-marked pottery of which one has been reported in Travancore stape and to which class may be assigned a large number of those described as impressed with fillets of the simplest type which appear to have been so common in Neolithic India. An equally common form is the grooved pattern, two, three or sometimes even fourteen lines incised which is often varied by impressed or raised ring designs."<sup>7</sup>

Gold is obtained directly from quartz veins and it is well known that Palaeolithic Indians were very fond of milk-white quartz. "Many old workings have been met with along with outcrops of the veins in Chota Nagpur with large number of grooved stones which had been used for crushing and grinding the quartz."<sup>8</sup> The remains of ancient workings are also found in the Wynaad district of Malabar, Nilgiri and in Mysore.<sup>9</sup> A Neolithic settlement of gold miners existed at Maski in the modern state of Hyderabad where the gold-miners' shafts were the deepest in the world. Its yellow colour was the cause of its early use and a like case is of several finely coloured gem-stones used in the making of beads which were used for ornamental as well as ritual purposes.<sup>10</sup>

These primitive peoples were not altogether devoid of the artistic sense as the rock paintings near Singanpur in the Raigarh district of the Central Provinces seem to prove. "The pigment was probably applied by means of bamboo or reed brushes, the implement most likely

<sup>7</sup> Professor Panchanan Mitra in *Pre-historic India*, Second edition, 1927, pp. 399—400.

<sup>8</sup> La Touche, *Bibliography of Indian Geology*, Article on "Gold."

<sup>9</sup> Gowland on Metals in Antiquity in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVIII. p. 260.

<sup>10</sup> Bruce-Foote has pointed out that the Neolithic settlement in the Bellary district gradually acquired the knowledge of iron-making industry as some small pottery (tuyere) suitable for protection against direct flame action of the nozzle of a small bellows was found in the Neolithic stratum.



used being a stiff blunt point, rather than a brush and the treatment of some of the painted surfaces seems to prove this ... The drawings are mostly executed in flat washes of one colour, although there are certain traces of shading and modelling, but these are very indistinct and barely discernible. The soft effect of the outline of the paintings may be due to age, or to the porous nature of the rock having absorbed the pigment. .... The subjects are (a) hunting scenes, (b) groups of figures, (c) picture-writing or hieroglyphics and (d) drawings of animals, reptiles, etc..... The chief artistic feature of these Raigarh paintings lies in their spirited expression and spontaneity of treatment. A strong family likeness may be noticed between these cave paintings and the patterns on what is called the "cross-lined" pottery of pre-historic Egypt. In these the men are represented in the "triangular style", a method of drawing adopted by many primitive races of ancient and modern times."<sup>11</sup> Equally interesting are the no less than twenty groups of figures of birds and beasts executed on rocks in the Neolithic site of Kapgallu in the Bellary district found by H. Knox<sup>12</sup> and the cave-paintings in the Kymore ranges discovered by John Cockburn.<sup>13</sup>

No less striking are the series of sculptures occurring in the Edakal Cave, Wynaad. "The most interesting features of the sculpture are the frequent human figures with peculiar headdress. There are several rather indistinct figures of animals. The usual Indian symbols are of frequent occurrence, *e.g.*, the swastika and specimens of the familiar circular 'sun-symbols'. There is evidence also of magic squares."<sup>14</sup> That they belonged to the Neolithic times may be judged from the find of a fragment of a well-shaped and polished celt from the place. To the same cultural horizon, at least so far as the style was concerned, belonged a group of rock-carvings discovered by Professor Panchanan Mitra and party in the

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<sup>11</sup> Mr. Percy Brown's Notes on the prehistoric cave paintings at Raigarh in Prof. Panchanan Mitra's *Prehistoric India*, pp. 464—65, 467—68.

<sup>12</sup> Bruce-Foote in *Notes on the Ages*, etc. pp. 87—89.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1889, New Series, Vol. XXXI, pp. 89—97

<sup>14</sup> F. Fawcett in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX (1901) p. 413.

Maubhandar village of Singhbhum.<sup>15</sup> That they belonged to Neolithic times may be judged from the find of a Neolithic axe from the place.

The Neolithic Indians learnt the use of graves which have been discovered by John Cockburn in the Mirzapur district, U. P.<sup>16</sup> The tombs were surrounded by stone circles. Many pre-historic cemeteries exist in the Tinnevely district along the coast of the Tāmraparṇī river, the most ancient seat of the pearl and conch-shell industry. This connection between the early settlements on the Tāmraparṇī river and the pearl-fishery is not an isolated fact. Professor Elliot Smith<sup>17</sup> rightly observes: "Ancient miners in search of metals or precious stones or in other cases pearlfishers had in every case established camps to exploit these varied sources of wealth and the megalithic monuments represent their tombs and temples."

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<sup>15</sup> Professor Panchanan Mitra's Prehistoric India pp. 201—202.

<sup>16</sup> Imperial Gazeteer, Vol. II. pp. 95—96.

<sup>17</sup> Manchester Memoirs, Vol. LX. Part I. 1915, p. 29 of reprint.

## CHAPTER III.

### The Copper Age.

As the Neolithic Age gradually passed away in Northern India, it appears to have given place not to an Age of Bronze as it did in most parts of Europe but to one of Copper. In Southern India on the other hand, stone tools were superseded directly by iron without any intermediate step.<sup>18</sup> Six bronze weapons of which three are harpoons, one a celt, one a spearhead and the last a sword have been noticed by Vincent Smith and no less than 123 bronze objects are recorded by Mr. Rea and we find not quite a small number in the Patna Museum. But all these were used as adornments or mere exotics. Among the Copper Age antiquities are bare and shouldered celts, harpoons, spear heads both plain and barbed, axe-heads, swords and an object suggestive of the human shape. The last mentioned as well as some of the swords which are remarkable for their excessive weight and the form of their handles may have been used for cult purposes. One hoard of these implements which came from Gungeria in the Central Provinces contained as many as 424 specimens of almost pure metal, weighing in all 829 pounds besides 102 ornamental laminal of silver. Such a collection comprising as it did, a variety of implements intended for domestic and other purposes affords evidence enough, as Dr. Smith has remarked, that their manufacture was conducted in India on an extensive scale; while the distinctive types that have been evolved and are represented both in this and other finds connote a development that must already have extended over a long period, though at the same time, the barbed spear-heads and harpoons and flat celts manifestly copied from neolithic prototypes bespeak a relatively high antiquity. The presence of silver ornaments in the Gungeria hoard has suggested doubts as to its remote date but there seems little reason for assuming that a race familiar with the difficult metallurgical processes by which copper is extracted from its ores were incapable of smelting silver from the rich argentiferous galenas which occur in various localities.

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<sup>18</sup> The Copper Age and the Pre-historic Bronze Implements of India by V. A. Smith in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 229f and Vol. XXXVI, p. 53f.



for ten cows and another<sup>25</sup> where Indra is considered to be so invaluable that not a hundred, a thousand or a myriad of cows is thought to be a proper price. As the Pastoral develops into the Agricultural stage, a number of agricultural products come to be used as currency. It is in this agricultural stage that commerce is found to develop itself and a greater number of objects are found capable of being used as measures of value, such as garments, coverlets and goat-skins which were so employed in the time of the Athava-veda.<sup>26</sup> Thus we see that traces of the various circulating media of these various stages of civilisation are clearly found in the Saṃhitā portion of the Vedas and they must have survived down to the Vedic epoch from previous stages of civilisation.

We may also note here that there are not one or two but many pre-historic symbols to be found on the punch-marked coins.<sup>27</sup> Mr. Theobald has observed not less than fourteen symbols engraved on the sculptured stones of Scotland. There was a time when Fergusson and archæologists of his kind relegated the rude stone implements of Great Britain to the post-Roman period but to-day no archæologist of any repute disputes its pre-historic character. When therefore we find so many pre-historic symbols occurring on the punch-marked coins, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kārṣāṇa coins must have been handed down to us from pre-historic times. If any further evidence is required, it is furnished by the fact, first brought to our notice by Elliot that these punch-marked coins "have been discovered along the ashes of the men who constructed the primitive tombs known as Pāṇdukulis of the south and unearthed from the ruins of buried cities in excavating the head-waters of the Ganges Canal."<sup>28</sup> "A large horde of these coins" says he elsewhere "was discovered in September 1807 at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of Pāṇdukulis near the village of Chavadipaleiyam in Coimbatore, thus identifying the employment of this kind of money with the aboriginal race whose places of sepulchre are scattered over every part of Southern India."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> VIII. 1. 5.

<sup>26</sup> IV. 7. 6.

<sup>27</sup> cf. J. B. O. R. S. 1920, p. 400.

<sup>28</sup> INO. cs i. 45.

<sup>29</sup> Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1858. p. 227.

## The Chalcolithic Civilisation of the Indus Valley.

The surprising discoveries by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni at Harappa in the Mont-gomery district of the Punjab and by Babu Rakhaldas Bannerji at Mohenzo Daro in the Larkana district of Sindh have proved the existence of a new kind of coins and have established beyond doubt the fact that five thousand years ago the people of the Punjab and Sind were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature civilisation with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of writing—a civilisation as highly developed and seemingly as widespread as the Sumerian culture of Mesopotamia with conclusive evidence of a close contact between the two.<sup>30</sup> The recent discoveries by Mr. N. G. Mazumdar<sup>31</sup> of a remarkable series of pre-historic sites in western Sind between the Indus and the Khirthar range reveal a wider diffusion of this Indus culture and link up the zone of Chalcolithic civilisation of Sind with the area surveyed by Sir Anrid Stein in Southern Beluchistan; and there is evidence to show that it extended over Cutch and Kathiawar towards the Deccan.

Like the Egyptians of the Nile valley or the Sumerians and Babylonians of the Tigris-Euphrates valley the Indus people were provided by Nature with ample opportunities for agriculture on a flat plain subjected to floods. There are strong reasons for inferring that Sind was then watered by two large rivers instead of one and was, as a consequence, at once more fertile and less subject to floods. The two rivers are the Indus and the old great Mihran, otherwise known as the Hakra or Wahindah which once received the waters of the Sutlej and flowed well to the east of the Indus, following a course which roughly coincided with that of the Eastern Nara Canal. Moreover, the country was blessed with a greater rainfall and consequently had better prospects of agriculture. For this, evidence is furnished by the large number of street-drains and the rain-water pipes discovered at Mohenzo-Daro, the universal use of burnt instead

<sup>30</sup> Sir John Marshall—Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley in the Illustrated London News, January 7 and 14, 1928; February 27 and March 7, 1926; also in Times of India Illustrated Weekly, 7th March 1926.

<sup>31</sup> Explorations in Sind, published by the Govt. of India, Delhi, 1934.

of sun-dried bricks in its buildings and the representation on the seals of the tiger, the rhinoceros and the elephant who favour a moist climate.<sup>82</sup> Some significance should also be attached in this connection to the preponderance of vegetation motifs on the painted pottery of Mohenzo-Daro and other contemporary sites in the Indus valley. Though little has yet been discovered of the processes of cultivation and irrigation then in vogue it is worthy of note that the specimens of wheat found in Mohenzo-Daro resemble the common variety grown in the Punjab to-day.

Hunting and fishing continued to be the occupation of a large section of the people. In their houses bones of the Gharial, boar, sheep and the bovine species as well as the shells of tortoises and turtles have been found, sometimes in a half-burnt condition, so that the conclusion is irresistible that besides bread and milk, fish from the rivers and the flesh of these animals formed their food.

The principal domestic animals, besides the cow and the sheep, were the humped long-horned bull, the buffalo, the short-horned bull, pigs, horse, elephant and dogs. The breed of Brahmini bulls as depicted on the seals seems to be every whit as good five thousand years ago as it is to-day.

The Babylonian and Greek names for cotton—Sindh and Sindon respectively—have always pointed to Sind as the home of cotton-growing and it is interesting to note that numerous spindle whorls in the debris of houses have been found, thus proving the practice of spinning and weaving. That the weaving material was cotton from the cotton plants of the genus *Gossypium* and not cotton from the silk-cotton tree has been proved by the discovery at Mohenzo-Daro of cotton of the former kind, with the typical convoluted structure which is the peculiar characteristic of that fibre. Even scraps of a fine woven cotton material have been found.

The dress among the upper classes consisted of two garments: a skirt fastened round the waist like the primitive Sumerian skirt and a plain and patterned shawl which was drawn over the left and under the right shoulder, so as to leave the right arm free. Earrings, bangles, girdles and

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<sup>82</sup> The lion which prefers arid and sparsely covered country does not occur.



anklets were worn by women while necklaces and finger-rings were worn by men and women of all classes, rich or poor. The ornaments of the latter were mainly of shell and terracotta while those of the rich were of silver and gold or copper plated with gold, of blue faience, ivory, cornelian, jadeite and multi-coloured stones of various kinds. Beads and bangles made of bronze, bangles and other ornaments made of shell (sank) were also in common use. The seals were sometimes worn by a cord round the neck or waist or as amulets. The girdles of cornelian and gilded copper as some of the earrings and "netting" needles of pure gold have so fine a polish on their surface that it would do credit to a modern jeweller.

The Indus people were familiar not only with gold and silver as the various ornaments made from them show but also with copper, tin and lead. Copper which was obtained from Beluchistan on the west and from Afganistan on the north was mostly used for weapons and implements like daggers, hatchets and celts as well as for domestic utensils like vessels, chisels, sickles, knives etc. Personal ornaments, amulets and statuettes were also made of copper. Most of these objects were wrought by hammering though examples of cast copper are by no means uncommon. A unique object made of copper, found in a low stratum at Harappa is a model of a two-wheeled cart with a gabled roof and driver seated in front. This is the oldest known example of a wheeled vehicle older than the steel fragment with the picture of a chariot recently found by Woolney at Ur in Sumer.

The finds of bronze objects as compared with copper are small, doubtless owing to the difficulty and cost of obtaining tin. Tin was probably imported from Khorasan or through Sumer from further west, to be alloyed with copper to form bronze as the remains of bronze vessels, statuettes, bangles, beads and buttons show. Specially striking is the use of bronze in making tools like razors, chisels and celts which require a hard cutting edge.

Pottery was well-known and common domestic vessels were of earthenware. They have a great variety of shapes, though it is curious how few of the vases are provided with handles. Most of the pottery is of plain



undecorated red colour, but painted pottery is not uncommon. As a rule the designs are painted in black, on a darkish red slip. This dark and red Indus ware has been found in abundance by Sir Anrid Stein in N. Beluchisthan and along the Waziristhan borderland and more sparsely in Sistan. A few specimens of polychrome decoration in red, white and black have also been met with at Mohenzo-Daro. Blue encaustic faience of a kind similar to that found in Mesopotamia and Egypt also played an important part in the making of miniature vases, ornaments, amulets and the like while a finer and harder variety of this paste was used for finishing off the surface of seals.

The remains laid bare at Mohenzo-Daro belong to the three latest cities on the site, each erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors. The date of these remains can be determined within tolerably narrow limits by the discovery at Susa and several sites in Mesopotamia of typical Indian seals inscribed with Indian pictographic legends, in positions which leave no doubt that they belonged to the period before Sarpon I, that is, before about 2,700 B. C. On another seal of the same pattern recently unearthed at Ur in Sumer, the legend is in cuniform characters of about 2,700 B. C. It may be inferred, therefore, that this class of Indian seals is to be assigned to the first half of the third millenium B. C. or earlier; and in as much as seals of this class are associated with the three uppermost cities at Mahenzo-Daro we may confidently fix the date of these cities between 3,500 and 2,500 B. C.

A bird's eye of the uppermost city at Mohenzo-Daro would reveal that the streets and lanes were laid out regularly according to a plan. The roads were broad and alignment of houses very good. The roads were broad enough to admit of all kinds of traffic and their surface was sometimes hardened with solid materials. The buildings abutting on the streets and lanes were so built, the walls being broad at the base and narrowing towards the top, that as the level of the streets and lanes rose, their width increased. There were central drainage channels in every street fed by subsidiary drains in the lanes.

The dwelling-houses of Mohenzo-Daro, though bare of all ornament are made of well-burnt brick, usually laid in mud but occasionally in

gypsum (plaster of Paris) mortar with foundations and infillings of sun-dried brick. The laying of the bricks suggested the use of instruments of level. One interesting feature of the houses was that all of them opened in by-lanes. Further, there was no direct access from the doorway into the house, but one had to pass through a room into a courtyard and then to the rooms of the house. Storied houses were very common as the existence of stairways revealed. Roofs were supported by beams and cross beams and roofing was done by spreading reed matting daubed with mud. Another interesting point about the houses was that no two of them had a common wall though they were all built close together in blocks. A narrow space was allowed between the walks of neighbouring houses, the same being walled up at either end. Some of the houses were very spacious and consisted of several rooms besides large courtyards and halls, suited to the accommodation of large families—an indication probably of the existence of joint family system among the Indus people. The houses are equally remarkable for the relatively high degree of comfort evidenced by the presence of brick-flooring bath rooms and wells. Near the wells were paved washing places and the used water was drained away by well-constructed drains which sometimes ran forty or fifty feet before connecting with the street-drain. There were cess pits and small jars used for collecting drainage water at houses.

Outstanding among the buildings at Mohenzo-Daro is a temple with a beautiful public bath. On the four sides of the bathing tank is a boldly fenestered corridor, with a platform in front and small chambers behind. The outer wall which is more than six feet in thickness with a pronounced batter on the outside was pierced by two large entrances on the south and smaller ones on the east and north. At either end of the bath is a descending flight of steps. Like the bath-room floors of the private houses, the floor is laid in finely joined brick-on-edge and remarkable care and ingenuity have been exercised in the construction of the surrounding walls. These walls which are nearly ten feet in thickness are made up of three sections; the inner and outer of burnt brick, the infilling between them of sun-dried brick; but in order to render them completely water-tight, the brick-work has been laid in gypsum mortar and the back

of the inner wall coated with an inch thick layer of bitumen. Bitumen was also used for bedding the wooden planks with which the steps were lined. A number of rooms on the story above, the wells close by to feed the bath with a regular supply of water, the covered drain over six feet in height, furnished with a corbelled vaulted roof by which water was conducted outside the city, and the care taken to secure privacy for each individual resorting to the bath all made the bath one of the finest discoveries in the city.

Though town-planning was not much in evidence in Harappa it was more extensive than Mohenjo-Daro. Its buildings were similar in character to those of Mohenjo-Daro but there is one tolerably well preserved building the like of which has not been found at Mohenjo-Daro. It comprises a number of narrow halls and corridors disposed in two parallel series with a broad aisle down the middle. The plan and the shape of the chambers recall to mind the store-rooms of the Cretan palaces. Small brick-structures somewhat like Hindu samādhis containing cinerary remains as well as a platform partially covered with ashes and half-charred bones which is thought to be a cremation platform have also been found at Harappa.

A new outpost of this Indus civilisation has been discovered in Kathiawar in the state of Limbi which is not far from the Gulf of Cambay ; and it was at the ports of Cambay and Broach that the cornelian industry of India was concentrated. When therefore we find an extensive use of this material in the Indus sites, the conclusion may be safely drawn that it was imported from these parts. The Tinnevelley district along the coast of Tamraparni river was the most ancient seat of conch-shell industry and when we find this conch-shell as a typical and very extensively used material in the Indus sites, we may safely assume that it was imported as much from the sea-coast down the Indus as from the south-eastern coast of the Madras Presidency.

Trade was carried on not only with other parts of India but also with countries further west. The affinity between the purely geometric patterns of Amri pottery of W. Sind, of the Kulli and Mehi fabrics of S. Beluchistan and the painted ceramic wares of Sahr-i-Sokhta and other sites in



Sistan, of Tepeh Musyan and Susa in W. Persia, of Al-Ubaid and Samarra in Mesopotamia together with the occurrence of a figure closely resembling the Sumerian hero-god Eabani depicted on some Mohenzo-Daro seals is clear evidence of a close contact between these contiguous areas. But notwithstanding these and other points of similarity<sup>33</sup> the art of the Indus valley is distinct from that of any neighbouring country. Some of the figures on the engraved seals—notably the humped Indian bulls and short-horned cattle—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and form unequalled in the contemporary glyptic art of Elam or Mesopotamia or Egypt. The modelling too in faience of the miniature rams, monkeys, dogs and squirrels is of a very high order, far in advance of what we can expect in the fourth or third millenium B. C. Similarly, the houses recently unearthed by Mr. Woolney in Ur no doubt suggest an interesting parallel to those of Mohenzo-Daro but they are by no means equal in point of construction to those of the latter nor are they provided with drains of finely chiselled brick, covered with limestone slabs and connected with the main drain in the street. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible—and it is being daily strengthened by the progress of exploration in the Indus valley—that whatever similarity we find between this Indus culture and the Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia, it is due not necessarily to actual identity of culture but to intimate commercial and other intercourse between these countries. Tin, as we have seen, was probably imported from Khorasan or through Sumer from further west, and bitumen from Beluchisthan. Dr. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures for 1887 on the Origin and Growth of Religion among the Babylonians has proved the existence of commerce between India and Babylon as early as 3000 B. C. The discovery by Rassam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and of Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus, the use of the word "Sindh" for muslin in an old Babylonian list of clothes certainly point to commercial intercourse between India and Babylon. The bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes

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<sup>33</sup> Sumerian connections with Ancient India—by E. Mackay in J. R. H. S. 1925, pp. 697—701.

which represents the conquest of the land of Punt under Hatasu contain a picture in which is described the booty which the Pharoah is carrying to Egypt. And in this booty, according to Leormant "appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to the soil of yemen—elephant's teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal-wood and monkeys."<sup>34</sup>

We have already seen that the smaller earthen vessels found in the burial sites at Adichanallur in Tinnevely closely resemble objects of pre-historic pottery found in Egypt. Some of the potteries discovered from the sepulchral remains in the Nizam's dominions bear marks which, according to Dr. Hunt, closely resemble early forms of the "Ka" mark of Egypt. We have also seen how from the nature of construction and the contents found in the tombs of Anantapur district the religious belief of the primitive peoples who constructed them seems to have been much the same as that held by the ancient Egyptians regarding man's life after death.) On one of the faience sealings discovered in Mohenzo-Daro is a row of four standards borne aloft by men, each of which supports a totem figure remarkably like the well-known totem standards of the Egyptian names. The resemblance is so striking that it might almost be supported that this particular sealing was an import from pre-dynastic Egypt, were it not that it is inscribed on the reverse with an Indian pictographic legend. Long ago there was a school of orientalists who believed in the colonisation of Ethiopia and Egypt from N. W. India and the Himalayan provinces. Indeed if the people to whom the Indus civilisation was attributed had occupied cities for at least 500 to 1000 years, it is quite possible that the natural growth of population must have made them seek fresh fields and pastures for their expansion. In Philostratus an Egyptian is made to remark that he had heard from his forefathers that the Indians were the wisest of men and that the Ethiopians, a Colony of the Indians, preserved the wisdom and usage of their forefathers and acknowledged their ancient origin. We find the same assertion made at a later period in the third century B. C. by Julius Africanus, from whom it has been preserved by Eusebius and

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<sup>34</sup> History of Ancient Del Orient Eng. ed. Vol. II. p. 299 Quoted in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII. p. 228.

Syncellus.<sup>35</sup> Philostratus introduces the Brahmin Iarchus by stating to his auditor that the Ethiopians were originally an Indian race compelled to leave India for the impurity contracted by slaying a certain monarch to whom they owed allegiance.<sup>36</sup> Cuvier, quoting Syncellus even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonisation of Ethiopia from India.<sup>37</sup> Eusibius states that Ethiopians emigrating from the river Indus settled in the vicinity of Egypt.<sup>38</sup> Again, we find great similarity in the names of rivers, towns and provinces of both India and Egypt. "For about ten miles below Attock" says a critic, "the Indus has a clean deep and rapid current; but for about a hundred miles further down to Kalabagh it becomes an enormous torrent. The water here has a dark lead colour and hence the name Nilab or Blue river given as well to the Indus as to a town on its bank about twelve miles below Attock." According to another writer "Aboasin (a classical name for the Indus) gave its name to Abyssinia in Africa"<sup>39</sup> Indian "Suryarikā (Sun-burnt land) is perhaps the Sahara desert of Africa. The names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tamba Cunda and another Cundas are according to Col. Todd<sup>40</sup> Hindu names. A writer in the Asiatic Journal<sup>41</sup> gives a curious list of the names of places in the interior of Africa, mentioned in Park's Second Journey, which are shown to be all Sanskrit, and most of them actually current in India at the present day. We also find striking similarity in the names of rulers and gods of both India and Egypt. King Rama of India is king Ramses of Egypt. The first Egyptian Solar king Manes sounds like Hindu Manu, the first solar king of India. The bull-bannered Egyptian Isis is Indian Isa. Further the religious systems of India and Egypt "both proceed from monotheistic principles and degenerate into a polytheistic heathenism though rather of a symbolic than of a positive character. The principle

<sup>35</sup> India in Greece by Pococke, p. 205.

<sup>36</sup> India in Greece by Pococke, p. 200.

<sup>37</sup> p. 18 of his "Discourse."

<sup>38</sup> Lemp. Barker's edition, "Meroe."

<sup>39</sup> Heeren's Historical Researches, Vol. II. p. 310.

<sup>40</sup> Todd's Rajasthan, Vol. II. p. 309 footnote.

<sup>41</sup> Vol. IV. p. 325.



of Trinity with that of the Unity, the pre-existence of the soul, its transmigration, the division of castes into priests, warriors, traders and agriculturists are the cardinal points of both systems. Even the symbols are the same on the shores of the Ganges and the Nile. Thus we find the Lingam of the Siva temples of India in the Phallus of the Ammon temple of Egypt—a symbol also met with on the headdress of the Egyptian gods. We find the lotus flower as the symbol of the Sun both in India and in Egypt and we find symbols of the immortality of the soul in both countries. The power of rendering barren women fruitful ascribed to the temples of Siva in India, was also ascribed to the temples of Ammon in Egypt."<sup>42</sup> Nor is this all. Mr. Pococke has found points of similarity not only in the objects of sculpture but also in the architectural skill and in the grand and gigantic character of the architecture of India and Egypt. Professor Heeren therefore concludes "whatever weight may be attached to Indian tradition and the express testimony of Eusebius confirming the report of the migrations from the banks of the Indus into Egypt, there is certainly nothing improbable in the event itself, as a desire of gain would have formed a sufficient inducement." But to sober minds it is reasonable only to assume that whatever similarity there might exist between the place-names, the names of gods and kings and the social and religious institutions of ancient India and Egypt, it was the result of early commercial intercourse between the two countries.

In the Book of Genesis<sup>43</sup> we read that Joseph was sold by his brethren to the "Ishmaelites come from Gilead, with their camels, bearing spicery, balm and myrrh going to carry it down to Egypt." Here, Dr. Vincent observes, we find "a caravan of camels loaded with the spices of India." Some suppose that myrrh used to be imported into Egypt by the Abyssinians, in whose country it largely grows. But the proof of its importation from India may be found in the name which it took in Egypt. Dr. Royle<sup>44</sup> observes that myrrh is called "bal" by the Egyptians, while its sanskrit name is "bota", bearing a resemblance which leaves

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<sup>42</sup> Count Bjornstjerne's *Theogony of the Hindus* pp. 40—41.

<sup>43</sup> Chapter XXVII. v. 25.

<sup>44</sup> *Ancient Hindu Medicine*, "Myrrh" p. 119.

no doubt as to its Indian origin. According to Wilkinson<sup>45</sup> the presence of indigo, tamarind-wood and other Indian products found in the tombs of Egypt shows Indian trade relations with the land of the Pharaohs. The evidences of Comparative Philology corroborates this view. Ivory we know was largely used in India, Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome. Elephants are indigenous in India and Africa and the trade in ivory must be either of Indian origin or African. But the elephants were scarcely known to the ancient Egyptians<sup>46</sup> and Professor Lassen decides that they were neither used nor tamed in ancient Egypt. In ancient India, however, the elephant was an emblem of royalty and a sign of rank and power and no description of a king's procession or of a battle is to be met with where elephants are not mentioned. Even the god Indra has his "Airāwat." Then the Sanskrit name for a domestic elephant is *ibha* and in ancient Egypt ivory was known by the name of *ebu*. Professor Lassen thinks "that the Sanskrit name *ibha* might easily have reached Egypt through Tyre and become Egyptian *ebu*."<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Sanskrit *kapi* became Egyptian *kafu* and the Hebrew *koph*. This Indo-Egyptian trade is further supported by another erudite scholar the Rev. T. Foulkes<sup>48</sup> who comes to the same conclusion and says "With a very high degree of probability some of the most esteemed of the spices which were carried by the Mediantish merchants of Genesis XXXVII. 25—28 and by the sons of the Pharaoh Jacob (Genesis XLIII. 11) had been cultivated in the spice-gardens of the Deccan."

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<sup>45</sup> Ancient Egyptians II. p. 237.

<sup>46</sup> Mrs. Manning—Ancient and Mediæval India, Vol. II. p. 251.

<sup>47</sup> C. Lassen—Indische Alterthumskunde Vol. I. p. 354.

<sup>48</sup> Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The Rigvedic Age.

The Rigvedic period was an age of migration and settlement. By this time the Aryan invaders had spread over the whole of the region, extending from the Kabul valley upto the Ganges and the Jumnā. In the list of rivers in the Nadī-stuti hymn<sup>49</sup>, and elsewhere we find the names of the Gangā<sup>50</sup>, the Yamunā<sup>51</sup>, the Sarayu<sup>52</sup>, and the Saraswati<sup>53</sup> and this goes to show the eastern limit of Aryan advance in Rigvedic India. Of the western tributaries of the Indus we find the names of Kubhā<sup>54</sup> (modern Kabul river) the Suvāstu<sup>55</sup> (modern Swat river) the Krumu<sup>56</sup> (modern Kurrum river) and the Gomati<sup>57</sup> (modern Gomāl) rivers. Though most familiar with the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries the Aryans gradually spread over the greater part of the Ganges valley as well. Thus the Rigveda mentions Kikāṭa<sup>58</sup> which has been identified by some scholars with the country of Magadh.

*Growth of agricultural life and landownership*—The evidence of the science of Comparative Philology in relation to the Indo-European group of languages discloses the fact that the original Aryan stock, though pre-eminently a pastoral people were not unacquainted with agriculture.<sup>59</sup> It appears from the same evidence that during the Indo-Iranian period the Aryans were acquainted with agriculture<sup>60</sup> and we have even direct

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<sup>49</sup> Rigveda X. 75 ;

<sup>52</sup> Rigveda IV. 30. 18 ;  
V. 53. 9 ; X. 64. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Rigveda VI. 45. 31 ; X. 75. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Rigveda V. 52. 17 ; VII. 18. 19 ; VII. 33. 3 ; X. 75. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Rigveda I. 3. 12 ; II. 41. 16 ; III. 4. 8 ; III. 23. 4 ; VI. 52. 6 ; VII. 2. 8 ;  
VII. 36. 6 ; VII. 96 ; X. 64. 9 ; X. 75. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Rigveda V. 53. 9 ; X. 75. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Rigveda VIII. 24. 30 ; X. 75. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Rigveda VIII. 19. 37.

<sup>58</sup> Rigveda III. 53. 14.

<sup>56</sup> Rigveda V. 53. 9 ; X. 75. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Otto Schrader, Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde, s. v. Ackerbau, Familie, Stamm, Viehzucht ; Hermann Hirt, Die Indogermanen, I, 251ff.

<sup>60</sup> Keith and Macdonell— Vedic Index, I. p. 181 (kṛṣi)



reference to agriculture in the Vendidad.<sup>61</sup> When one branch of the Aryans ultimately migrated into the land of the five rivers, they found the country already in occupation of alien peoples, some of whom, as we have seen, judged by the wonderful remains of their civilisation in the Indus valley, attained a high level of material greatness; and even the confused and imperfect picture of the aborigines in the Rigveda furnishes some hints of their organisation in pūras under the rule of Chiefs.<sup>62</sup> By the time even of the earliest hymns of the Rigveda the Indo-Aryans had settled down to a peaceful agricultural life and evolved the idea of landownership. The land was divided into Vāstu, Arableland, Pasture and Forests. The Vāstu was in individual ownership as was also the case with the Vāstu of the German Mark. But while the arable land in ancient India was in private ownership throughout, that in the Mark was at first in communal ownership but ultimately in private ownership.

In one hymn of the Rigveda<sup>63</sup> we read of an impoverished gambler who is made to take shelter in another's house and the sight of another's prosperity torments him :

✓ "The gambler's wife is left forlorn and wretched :  
the mother mourns the son who wanders homeless  
In constant fear, in debt and seeking riches,  
he goes by night unto the home of others.  
Sad is the gambler when he sees a matron,  
another' wife, and his well-ordered dwelling."

This proves conclusively that houses were owned in severalty and that the owners had the right of transfer. In fact, we constantly read of prayers for the bestowal of houses on individuals :—

"Bestow a dwelling-house on the rich landlords  
and me and keep thy dart ( O Indra ) afar from these."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> III. 23 and 24 ; also XIV. 10.

<sup>62</sup> Keith and Macdonell—Vedic Index, s. v. Dāsa ; for references. Compare Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> Rigveda X. 34. 10—11.

<sup>64</sup> Rigveda VI. 46. 9.

“ Give us, O Mitra-Varuṇa a dwelling safe from  
attack, which ye shall guard, Boon-givers. ”<sup>65</sup>

“ Give ample room and freedom for our dwelling,  
a home, ye Hemispheres, which none may rival. ”<sup>66</sup>

As regards the arable land we have a hymn of the Rigveda<sup>67</sup> which seems to make an indirect reference to the fact that the Aryans after conquering the land of the Daśyus used to share them apparently on a footing of equality. This sharing of the land by all the conquering persons during the Rigvedic age seems to be referred to in the *Manu Samhita*.<sup>68</sup> Even the priests who officiated at sacrifices for the victory of Aryan arms claimed a share in the war-booty.<sup>69</sup> In one hymn<sup>70</sup> Apātā, the daughter of Atri prays to Indra that something may grow on her father's ( apparently bald ) head and on his plough-land. Even measurement of fields with a rod is referred to :

“ The Ribhus with a rod measured, as it were a field. ”<sup>71</sup> According to Professor Scharder without private ownership we cannot expect fields to be measured in this way. We also meet with epithets like *kṣhetrapati*, *kṣhetrasā*, *urbarāpati* and *urbarāsā*, meaning lords or owners of fields, pointing to the existence of private ownership.<sup>72</sup>

*No royal ownership of land*—The unit of Indo-Aryan society was the patriarchal family. The authority of the head of the family was very great and an instance of this may be found in the story of Ritrāṣva who was robbed of his eyesight by his father Vrishāgir for having slaughtered a hundred sheep for the she-wolf who was one of the asses of the Aswins in disguise.<sup>73</sup> Above the family stood the Viś in the sense of clan and a number of Viś groups formed the whole jana or people.<sup>74</sup> As regards the

<sup>65</sup> Rigveda VI. 50. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Rigveda VI. 67. 2. Compare Rigveda I. 114. 5.

<sup>67</sup> I. 100. 18—19.

<sup>70</sup> Rigveda VIII. 91. 5—6.

<sup>68</sup> VII. 97.

<sup>71</sup> Rigveda I. 110. 5.

<sup>69</sup> Rigveda I. 180. 9.

<sup>72</sup> Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, Vol. I. pp. 99, 210.

<sup>73</sup> Rigveda I. 117. 16.

<sup>74</sup> Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, s. v. Viś and Jana.

political organisation of this period monarchy as might be expected from their situation as settlers in the midst of a conquered population, was a well-established institution and the Rigveda gives as glimpses of the king's functions in peace and war.<sup>75</sup> Originally, it seems, the authority of the king was largely limited by that of the heads of the family and the chiefs of the clans, though as guardian of his people he used to receive such voluntary contributions which are called by the generic name "bali" just to maintain his authority and dignity.<sup>76</sup> There is nothing in the Rigveda to prove that he was ever regarded as the owner of the state-territory.

*Corporate village-life*—The grāma or village consisted of a group of families united by ties of kindred but what place it held in the scheme of tribal divisions and in particular what relation it bore to the Viś with which it was immediately connected, it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty.<sup>77</sup> Most of the villages were founded by settlers under some leader and apart from the question of consanguinity the people of a village regarded themselves as a united body. In times of war they fought under their leaders for the safety of their hearths and homes; and this is proved by the word samgrāma which primarily meant an assembly of the village-folk but later on came to mean a war-gathering. In times of peace they gathered in the village council (savā) which as Zimmer suggests "served like the Greek Leshke as a meeting place for social intercourse and general conversation about cows<sup>78</sup> and so forth, possibly also for debates<sup>79</sup> and verbal contests.<sup>80</sup> The administrative machinery of the village also supports its corporate character. At the head of the village was the Grāmanī<sup>81</sup> who according to Zimmer<sup>82</sup> presided over the village

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., s. v. Rājan; Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. pp. 94—95, 98.

<sup>76</sup> Rigveda X. 173; Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, s. v. bali.

<sup>77</sup> Macdonell and Keith — Vedic Index, s. v. Grāma; Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 91, where reasons are shown for rejecting the older view of Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, pp. 159—60), namely that the Grāma was a clan standing between the family and the tribe.

<sup>78</sup> Rigveda VI. 28. 6.

<sup>79</sup> Rigveda I. 91. 120.

<sup>80</sup> Zimmer — Altindisches Leben, p. 172.

<sup>81</sup> Rigveda X. 62. 11; X. 107. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Altindisches Leben, p. 172.



assembly though Macdonell<sup>83</sup> does not accept this view. Ludwig<sup>84</sup> infers judicial functions of the village assembly from the word kilvishaspr̥it in the Rigveda<sup>85</sup> which can only mean "that which removes the stain attaching to a person by means of accusation."

The villages which thus became the basis of social life were connected by roads which were not free from dangers from wild beasts and robbers as is evident from the frequent prayers for protection on a journey offered to Pushan who was the deity presiding over roads and paths.<sup>86</sup>

*Growth of towns*—The existence of city-life in this period has been denied by Professors Keith, Kaegi and others. Pischel, Geldner and Wilson, however, think otherwise. According to the latter pūras (cities) as distinct from grāmas (villages) were well-known. "Indra broke through Ilībisa's strong pūras."<sup>87</sup> "Thou (O Indra) hero-hearted hast broken through Pipru's pūras."<sup>88</sup> "Thou, O Indra, hast destroyed the hundred pūras of Vangrīda."<sup>89</sup> "Thou (O Indra) slayest the Vṛitras, breaker-down of pūras."<sup>90</sup> "Thou breakest down, Indra, autumnal pūras."<sup>91</sup> "Him (Agni), indestructible, dwelling at a distance in pūras unwrought lies and ill-spirit reaches not."<sup>92</sup> "Maghavan with the thunderbolt demolished his (Sambara's) ninety-nine pūras."<sup>93</sup> "Agni, thou brokest down the pūras."<sup>94</sup> "Thou, (O Indra) hast wrecked seven autumnal pūras."<sup>95</sup> "Indra, thou humblest tribes that spake with insult by breaking down seven autumnal pūras."<sup>96</sup> "Thou hast smitten Sambara's pūras, O Indra."<sup>97</sup> "(O Indra) dostroy the firm pūras built by man."<sup>98</sup> "Indra overthrew the solid pūras built by Pipru."<sup>99</sup> "He (Agni) with the steed wins spoil even in the fenced pūra."<sup>100</sup> Indra is said to have

<sup>83</sup> Vedic Index, Vol. I. p. 427.

<sup>84</sup> Der Rigveda, III. 254.

<sup>85</sup> X. 71. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Rigveda I. 42. 1; VI. 49. 8; VI. 51. 13; VI. 53. 1.

<sup>87</sup> Rigveda I. 33. 12.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, I. 53. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, I. 131. 4.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 6.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, VI. 20. 10.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, I. 103. 8.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, X. 138. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, I. 51. 5.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, I. 102. 7.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, II. 35. 6.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, VI. 16. 39.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, I. 174. 2.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, VI. 45. 9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, VIII. 92. 5.

"quickly demolished the strongholds and seven-walled pūras of Srukta and other asuras."<sup>101</sup> He is again said to have demolished one hundred pūras of stone for the pious Divodāsa.<sup>102</sup> Again he possessed all the pūras of the asuras as a husband his wife<sup>103</sup> Saraswati is described "as firm as a pūra made of ayas."<sup>104</sup> Pūras made of the metal ayas are also mentioned in several other places,<sup>105</sup> figuratively, no doubt, to express great strength. Professor Wilson remarks "cities are repeatedly mentioned, and although, as the object of Indra's hostility, they may be considered as cities in the clouds, the residences of the Asuras, yet the notion of such exaggerations of any class of beings could alone have been suggested by actual observations, and the idea of cities in heaven could have been derived only from familiarity with similar assemblages upon earth; but it is probable that by Asuras we are to understand, at least occasionally, the ante-vaiddik people of India, and theirs were the cities destroyed. It is also to be observed, that the cities are destroyed on behalf of or in defence of mortal princes, who could scarcely have beleaguered celestial towns, even with Indra's assistance. Indeed, in one instance, it is said that, having destroyed ninety-nine out of hundred cities of the Asura Sambara, Indra left the hundredth habitable for his protégé Divodāsa, a terrestrial monarch, to whom a metropolis in the firmament would have been of questionable advantage. That the cities of those days consisted, to a large extent, of mud and mat hovels is very possible: they do still; Benares, Agra, Delhi, even Calcutta present numerous constructions of the very humblest class; but that they consisted of those exclusively, is contradicted in several places. In one passage the cities of Sambara that have been overturned are said to have consisted of stone; in another the same cities are indicated by the appellative dehyah, the plastered, intimating the use of lime, mortar or stucco; in another we have specified a structure with a thousand columns, which whether a palace or a temple, must have been something very different from a cottage; and again, supplication is put up for a large

<sup>101</sup> Wilson's Rigveda IV. 59.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, IV. 75.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, IV. 12.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, IV. 30. 20.

<sup>105</sup> Rigveda I. 58. 8; II. 20. 8;  
IV. 27. 1; VII. 3. 7; VII. 15. 14;  
VII. 95. 1; VIII. 89. 8; X. 101. 8.

habitation which could not be intended for a hut : cities with buildings of some pretence must obviously have been no rarities to the authors of the hymns of the Rigveda."<sup>106</sup> According to Professor Keith, however, "the pūra which is often referred to and which in later days denotes a town was probably no more than a mere earthwork fortification. In certain passages, these pūras are called autumnal, and by far the most probable explanation of this epithet is, that it refers to the flooding of the plains by the rising of the rivers in the autumn when the cultivators and the herdsmen had to take refuge within the earthworks which at other times served as defences against human foes."<sup>107</sup> But the actual remains of well-planned cities like those of Mohenzo Daro and Harappa of the Calcholithic Age seem, however, to confirm the imperfect picture of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the Indus valley in the Rigveda, living in pūras, some of which might, therefore, will have been cities and not mere earthwork fortifications. )

*Development of Agriculture*—Agriculture was already a part of Vedic economy. The very name Arya by which the Aryan conquerors have distinguished themselves from the aborigines is said to have come from a root (kṛiṣh) which means to cultivate.<sup>108</sup> Similarly the words kṛiṣṭayah<sup>109</sup> and carṣanayah<sup>110</sup> are applied to the people in general. In other places we find Pancha kṛiṣṭyah<sup>111</sup> and Carṣanayah<sup>112</sup> applied to the great tribes.

Fertile plots of land (urbarā) were selected and divided into separate fields (kṣhetras) which were measured with a rod.<sup>113</sup> Forests were cleared up by fire as well for purposes of cultivation.<sup>114</sup> The Aswins taught the Great Manu the art of sowing seeds<sup>115</sup> and the Indo-Aryans the use of the plough.<sup>116</sup> The plough was known as Sira<sup>117</sup> and Lāṅgala.<sup>118</sup> The

<sup>106</sup> Wilson's Rigveda III. p. XIV.

<sup>107</sup> Rapson— Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

<sup>108</sup> R. C. Dutt — Civilisation in Ancient India, p. 35.

<sup>109</sup> Rigveda I. 52. 11 ; I. 100. 10 ; I. 160. 5 ; I. 189. 3 ; III. 49. 1 ; IV. 21. 2.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, I. 86. 5 ; III. 43. 2 ; IV. 7. 4 ; V. 23. 1.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, II. 2. 10 ; III. 53. 16 ; IV. 38. 10 ; X. 10. 4.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, I. 110. 5.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, I. 58. 4—5 ; I. 140. 4—8 ; II. 4. 4, 7 ; IV. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Rigveda I. 112. 16 ; Sāyana's Commentary.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 8 ; X. 101. 3, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, V. 86. 2 ;

VII. 15. 2 ; IX. 101. 9.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, I. 117. 21.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4.



ploughshare was called *phāla*<sup>119</sup> and the yoke was called *Yuga*.<sup>120</sup> The plough was driven by oxen<sup>121</sup> which were yoked and harnessed with traces (*varatrā*)<sup>122</sup> and urged with the goad<sup>123</sup> with horny point<sup>124</sup> by the ploughman (*kināśa*).<sup>125</sup>

For the improvement of agriculture cowdung was probably used as manure. Śakṛt in the *Rigveda*<sup>126</sup> means according to Professors Macdonell and Keith dung and "it is clear that the value of manure was early appreciated."<sup>127</sup> For irrigating the fields water-courses seem to have been dug out. The epithet *khanitrimā* (produced by digging) of *āpah* (water) in the *Rigveda*<sup>128</sup> "clearly refers to artificial water-channels used for irrigation, as practised in the times of the *Rigveda*."<sup>129</sup> Muir<sup>130</sup> took the word *kulyā* to mean artificial waterways which carried water to reservoirs. Wells for purposes of irrigation were also well-known. The word *avata* frequently occurs in the *Rigveda*<sup>131</sup> and denotes an artificial hollow in the earth containing water. *Kūpa* having the same meaning also occurs in the *Rigveda*.<sup>132</sup> Such wells are "described as unfailing (*akṣita*) and full of water."<sup>133</sup> The water was raised by a wheel of stone<sup>134</sup> to which was fastened a strap (*varatrā*) with a pail (*kośa*) attached to it. When raised, it was poured into buckets (*āhāva*)<sup>135</sup> of wood. Sometimes these wells appear to have been used for irrigation purposes, the water being led off into broad channels (*sūrmī suṣirā*).<sup>136</sup> In some cases they (the wells)

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 8 ; X. 117. 7.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, I. 115. 2 ; I. 184. 3 ; II. 39. 4 ;  
III. 53. 17.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, X. 106.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4 ; X. 102. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, VI. 53. 9.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 8.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, I. 161. 10.

<sup>127</sup> L. 55. 8 ; I. 85. 10, 11 ; I. 116. 9, 22 ; IV. 17. 16 ; VIII. 49. 6 ; VIII. 62. 6 ;  
X. 25. 4.

<sup>128</sup> L. 105. 17.

<sup>129</sup> *Rigveda* X. 101. 6.

<sup>130</sup> *Āśma-Cakra*, *Rigveda* X. 93. 13 ; X. 101. 7.

<sup>131</sup> *Rigveda* X. 25. 4.

<sup>127</sup> *Vedic Index*, II. p. 343.

<sup>128</sup> *Rigveda* VII. 49. 2.

<sup>129</sup> *Vedic Index*, I. p. 214.

<sup>130</sup> *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V. pp. 465—66.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, VIII. 69. 12.

must have been deep, as Trita in the myth is said to have fallen into one, from which he could not escape unaided."<sup>137</sup>

For successful agriculture timely rain was a necessity. Hence the innumerable prayers for rain preserved in the hymns of the Rigveda.<sup>138</sup> Sacrifices were also offered for helping Indra to fight Vṛtra or the Demon of Drought and bring down rain by rendering open his cloud-body with Indra's thunderbolt. Indra was assisted in his work by some other deities, notably Viṣṇu the Sun-god who heated the sea-water, converted it into vapour and lifted them into the sky above,<sup>139</sup> the Maruts or Winds (Monsoons) who carried the watery vapour inland from the surrounding seas, Trita the third month of the rainy season when rainfall was incessant, Parjanya the ancient god of rain and Brhaspati of "loud speech"<sup>140</sup> who helped the worshippers in properly chanting the mantras at the sacrifice, held for the propitiation of the gods. The Saraswati was called Vṛtraghni the killer of Vṛtra, like Indra.<sup>141</sup> That obtaining rains was the main object of holding the annual and special sessions of sacrifice in those days is evident from the following verse: "I offer to you (gods) for the sake of water, an all-bestowing sacrifice whereby the Navagvas have completed the ten month's rite."<sup>142</sup>

Before agricultural work was begun, certain verses were uttered to propitiate the Lord of the Field (Kṣhetrapati) and other deities, supposed to preside over agriculture, as will appear from the following verse of the Rigveda<sup>143</sup> :—

"We through the Master of the Field, even as through  
a friend obtain

<sup>137</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. 40, 177 ; also Macdonell—Vedic Mythology, p. 67.

<sup>138</sup> V. 63. 2 ; V. 63. 6 ; V. 83. 6—7 ; VI. 70. 5 ; VII. 64. 2 ; VII. 65. 4 ; VII. 73. 3 ; VII. 102. 1 ; VIII. 7. 16 ; VIII. 25. 6 ; IX. 8. 8 ; IX. 39. 2 ; IX. 49. 1 ; IX. 65. 3, 24 ; IX. 96. 4 ; IX. 97. 17 ; IX. 106. 9 ; IX. 108. 10 ; X. 98. 5, 10.

<sup>139</sup> Rigveda VIII. 77. 10.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, IV. 50. 5.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, VI. 61. 3, 7.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, V. 45. 1.

<sup>143</sup> IV. 57.

What nourisheth our kine and steeds. In such way  
 may he be good to us.  
 As the cow yieldeth milk, pour for us freely, Lord of  
 the Field, the wave that beareth sweetness,  
 Distilling meath, well-purified like butter, and let  
 the Lords of holy Law be gracious.  
 Sweet be the plants for us, the heavens, the waters,  
 and full of sweets for us be air's mid-region.  
 May the Field's Lord for us be full of sweetness, and  
 may we follow after him uninjured.  
 Happily work our steers and men, may the plough  
 furrow happily,  
 Happily be the traces bound ; happily may he ply  
 the goad.  
 Suna and Sira, welcome ye this land, and with the  
 milk which ye have made in heaven.  
 Bedew ye both this earth of ours.  
 Auspicious Sitā, come thou near : we venerate  
 and worship thee  
 That thou mayest bless and prosper us and  
 bring us fruits abundantly.  
 May Indra press the furrow down, may Pūshan  
 guide its course aright  
 May she, as rich in milk, be drained for us  
 through each succeeding year.  
 Happily let the shares turn up the ploughland,  
 happily go the ploughers, with the oxen.  
 With meath and milk Parjanya make us happy ;  
 grant us prosperity, Suna and Sira."

In ahoth<sup>er</sup> hymn<sup>144</sup> sacrifice is figuratively spoken of as ploughing,  
 sowing and reaping.<sup>145</sup> We also read of other agricultural operations like

<sup>144</sup> Rigveda X. 101. 3—12.

<sup>145</sup> Compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa VII. 2. 2, 4.



cutting of corn by the sickle,<sup>146</sup> the laying of it in bundles,<sup>147</sup> on the threshing floor<sup>148</sup> and final shifting by winnowing.<sup>149</sup>

Coming to the nature of the grain grown we find that Yava<sup>150</sup> and dhānāh<sup>151</sup> or dhānya<sup>152</sup> were cultivated.<sup>153</sup> According to Macdonell and Keith<sup>154</sup> Yava perhaps meant any kind of grain and not merely barley. But we should bear in mind that Indian commentators have always taken Yava to mean barley only. Moreover, we should note in this connection that barley is one of the earliest grains to be cultivated by man. Again European scholars interpret dhāna and dhānya as grain in general and not as rice, though in later literature it always means rice. The absence of the name of vrihi (the boro rice of Lower Bengal which later became the general name of rice) in the Rigveda lend colour to the view that rice was unknown in this age.<sup>155</sup>

*Food of the people*—The food of this age consisted of barely flour and its various preparations, fruits, flesh of animals like goats, sheep, oxen, buffaloes, deer and sometimes horses as well as honey, clarified butter, curds and other preparations of milk. The drink consisted of milk, the Soma juice and wine.

Apūpa<sup>156</sup> was a kind of cake made of barley mixed with clarified butter. Pakti<sup>157</sup> was another kind of cake. Grain cooked with milk was called khīra-audana.<sup>158</sup> Karamba<sup>159</sup> was a kind of porridge made of fried barley-flour, mixed with curd or clarified butter.

<sup>146</sup> Śṛṇi, Rigveda I. 58. 4 ; IV. 20. 5 ; X. 101. 3 ; dātra, Rigveda VIII. 67. 10.

<sup>147</sup> parṣa, Rigveda X. 48. 7.

<sup>148</sup> Khala, Rigveda X. 48. 7.

<sup>149</sup> Rigveda X. 27. 15 ; X. 68. 3 ; X. 71. 2.

<sup>150</sup> Rigveda I. 53. 2 ; IV. 24. 7 ; V. 85. 3 ; VII. 3. 4 ; VIII. 2. 3 ; VIII. 81. 4 ; X. 27. 8 ; X. 131. 2.

<sup>151</sup> Rigveda I. 16. 2 ; III. 35. 3 ; III. 52. 7 ; VI. 29. 4.

<sup>152</sup> Rigveda V. 53. 13 ; VI. 13. 4 ; X. 94. 13.

<sup>153</sup> Cucumber is also referred to, Rigveda VII. 59. 12. <sup>154</sup> Vedic Index, II. p. 187.

<sup>155</sup> For the view that rice was cultivated in this age, read A. C. Das—Rigvedic Culture, pp. 266—69, 281—83.

<sup>156</sup> Rigveda III. 52. 7 ; X. 45. 9.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, IV. 24. 5 ; IV. 25. 6 ; VI. 29. 4.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, VIII. 69. 14 ; VIII. 77. 10.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, I. 187. 16 ; III. 52. 7 ; VI. 56. 1 ; VI. 57. 2 ; VIII. 102. 2.

Meat was a principal item of food. The sage Bharadvāja prayed to Indra to grant him and his worshippers food with cow as the principal item.<sup>160</sup> Agni is called "eater of ox and cow."<sup>161</sup> Bulls were sacrificed to Indra as well.<sup>162</sup> There was even an appointed place for the slaughter of bulls and cows.<sup>163</sup> On rare occasions horse was sacrificed and its flesh was cooked and offered to the gods,<sup>164</sup> both roasted<sup>165</sup> and boiled<sup>166</sup>; while the worshippers "craving meat, await the distribution."<sup>167</sup> We also hear of buffaloes dressed for and eaten by Indra.<sup>168</sup> The cow, however, was gradually "acquiring a special sanctity, as is shown by the name *aghnyā* (not to be slain) applied to it in several passages."<sup>169</sup> The word occurs sixteen times in the Rigveda as opposed to three instances of *aghnya* (masculine). It would thus appear that there was a school of thinkers among the Rishis who set their face against the custom of killing such useful animals as the cow and the bull. Relying on Sāyana's interpretation we also find a reference to the fowler's wife cutting a bird, evidently for food.<sup>170</sup>

Fish is mentioned in the Rigveda<sup>171</sup> but we are not sure whether or how far it was used as food by the people of this age.

Fruits were eaten<sup>172</sup> though we do not come across the names of any of them. Honey was also taken with food and drink.<sup>173</sup> It is curious that there is no mention of salt in the Rigveda. "It is, however, quite conceivable that a necessary commodity might happen to be passed over without

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, VI. 39. 1.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, VIII. 43. 11.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, X. 89. 14.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 11.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 12.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 8; VI. 17. 11.

<sup>166</sup> Meedonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 146.

<sup>167</sup> Rigveda I. 92. 10.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, III. 45. 4; X. 146. 5.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, I. 19. 9; I. 154. 4;

II. 19. 2; II. 37. 5; III. 8. 1;

III. 39. 6; III. 43. 3; IV. 38. 10;

VII. 24. 2.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, X. 27. 2; X. 86. 13—14.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 3, 10, 11.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 13.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, VII. 18. 6; X. 68. 8.

literary mention in a region where it is very common, but to be referred to in a locality where it is not found and consequently becomes highly prized."<sup>174</sup> In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>175</sup> it seems to be placed above gold in value, probably because it had to be imported at a heavy cost into the region where the Upaniṣad was composed. From the absence of any mention of salt in the Rīgveda some European scholars have come to the conclusion that the Indo-Aryans of this age did not use salt in the preparation of their food. But this, as Macdonell has observed "is a good illustration of the dangers of *argumentum ex silencio*."<sup>176</sup> The existence of seas near the Punjab and of the Salt Range in the heart of the country precludes a supposition like that from being at all probable.

Milk furnished a nourishing drink and was called payas.<sup>177</sup> Curd was called dadhi.<sup>178</sup> Butter was prepared by churning (mantha)<sup>179</sup> and ghrta was made from it by melting it on fire.<sup>180</sup> Another drink Soma was made<sup>181</sup> with the pressed juice of a creeper or plant, diluted with water and mixed with milk (gavaśir), curd (dadhyāśir) and grain (Yavaśir)<sup>182</sup> and sometimes with honey<sup>183</sup> The Soma plant grew on the mountains, that of Muḥjavant being specially renowned.<sup>184</sup> At first unmixed juice (śukra, śuchi) was offered to Indra and Vāyu<sup>185</sup> but this usage was afterwards dropped by the kanvas<sup>186</sup> The whole of the Nineth Maṇḍala of the Rīgveda and

<sup>174</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 230.

<sup>175</sup> IV. 17. 7.

<sup>176</sup> Macdonell—History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 105.

<sup>177</sup> Rīgveda I. 164. 28 ; II. 14. 10 ; IV. 3. 9 ; V. 85. 2 ; X. 30. 13.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, VIII. 2. 9 ; IX. 87. 1.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, I. 28. 4.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, I. 134. 6 ; II. 10. 4 ; IV. 10. 6 ; IV. 58. 5, 7, 9 ; V. 12. 1.

<sup>181</sup> Read Stevenson—Sāma Veda, p. 5 ; Haug—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I. p. 6 ; Manning—Ancient India, I. p. 86. For the mantras used in the course of preparing the Soma beverage see Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Kāṇḍa I. Prapāṭakas II., III., IV., and kāṇḍa IV. Prapāṭakas I., II., III., and IV. The Kalpasūtras and Somaproyogas supply the details.

<sup>182</sup> Hillebrandt—Vedische Mythologie, I. 219—22.

<sup>183</sup> Rīgveda IX. 103. 3.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, I. 93. 6 ; III. 48. 2 ; V. 36. 2 ; V. 43. 4 ; V. 85. 2 ; IX. 1. 18 etc.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, I. 137. 1 ; III. 32. 2 ; VIII. 2. 9. 10.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, VIII. 2. 5, 9, 10, 28.



six hymns in other mandalas are most lavish in its praise. It enabled men to concentrate their mind, made them active, cured their diseases and preserved their characters.<sup>187</sup> It was also believed to prolong their lives.<sup>188</sup> But it also had an inebriating effect on its consumers, ultimately inducing sleep<sup>189</sup> and was compared with *mada*.<sup>190</sup> When singing the praise of Soma some R̥ṣis made apparently incoherent prayers for winning beautiful damsels, doubtless the result of an overdose of the drink.<sup>191</sup> On the eve of a battle the warriors used to divide the Soma among themselves and drink it, probably for excitement and exhilaration.<sup>192</sup> *Surā* was the name of an intoxicating spirituous liquor.<sup>193</sup> It has been generally condemned in the R̥gveda as under its influence, men committed sins and crimes<sup>194</sup> and became devoid of sense.<sup>195</sup> It has been classed with dicing as an evil.<sup>196</sup> It was the drink of men in the *Savā* and gave rise to broils.<sup>197</sup> *Pānta* was the name of another drink in the R̥gveda.<sup>198</sup> As it was offered to the gods, it has been identified by commentators with Soma. But it may have been a drink of a different kind.

*Sheep and Cattle-rearing : the domesticated animals*—The principal animals domesticated in this age are the cow, the buffalo, the horse, camel, ass, sheep and goat. Oxen and horses were indispensable for agricultural work and milk was required not only for daily consumption but also for offering libations to the Sacred Fire twice a day and for preparing butter and ghee to enable the people to perform the annual and periodic sessions of sacrifice so that they might be blessed with sufficient rainfall for the successful cultivation of their crops. *Pūshan* was the god of the shepherds to whom

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, VIII. 48. 5.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, VIII. 48. 11.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid, IX. 69. 6.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, IX. 68. 3 ; X. 69. 3.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, IX. 67. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, IX. 106. 2.

<sup>193</sup> According to Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa "it was, as opposed to Soma, essentially a drink of ordinary life" (Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 458.)

<sup>194</sup> R̥gveda VII. 86. 6.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, VIII. 2. 12 ; VIII. 21. 14.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, VII. 86. 6.

<sup>197</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 458.

<sup>198</sup> I. 122. 1 ; I. 155. 1 ; VII. 92. 1 ; X. 88. 1.

prayers were offered.<sup>199</sup> "Give us wide pastures" was the cry.<sup>200</sup> We read of cattle going to the pasture at daybreak for grazing,<sup>201</sup> of herdsmen driving them,<sup>202</sup> of herdsmen guarding them,<sup>203</sup> of herdsmen calling out to the cattle<sup>204</sup> and of herdsmen driving them home from the pasture.<sup>205</sup> The eager solicitude for the welfare of their kine will be evident from the following verses :—

"May Pūshan follow near our kine ; may Pūshan

keep our horses safe :

May Pūshan gather gear for us.

Follow the kine of him who pours libations out

and worship thee ;

And ours who sing songs of praise.

Let none be lost, none injured, none sink in a pit

and break a limb

Return with these safe and sound."<sup>206</sup>

"Yea, let the herdsman, too, return, who marketh

well their driving forth ;

Marketh their wandering away, their turning

back and coming home

Home-leader, lead them home to us ; Indra, restore

to us our kine

We will rejoice in them alive."<sup>207</sup>

"May the wind blow upon our cows with healing ;

may they eat herbage full of vigorous juices.

May they drink waters rich in life and fatness :

to food that moves on feet be gracious, Rudra."<sup>208</sup>

From the above quotations it is evident that the cattle were objects of great care with the Rigvedic Aryans. They were kept in the cowstall,<sup>209</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Rigveda I. 42 ; VI. 54 ; VI. 55 ; VI. 56 ; VI. 57.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid, I. 42. 8.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, III. 45. 3 ; IV. 51. 8 ; V. 7. 7.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, V. 31. 1.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, VI. 19. 3.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid, III. 38. 9.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid, VI. 49. 12 ; VI. 24. 4 ; VI. 41. 1.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, VI. 54. 5—7.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, X. 19. 5—6.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, X. 169. 1.

<sup>209</sup> Rigveda : V. 23. 10 ; V. 24. 5 ; V. 45. 6 ; V. 62. 2 ; VI. 10. 3 ; VI. 17. 2 ; VI. 28. 1 ; VI. 45. 24 ; VI. 62. 11 ; VI. 65. 5 ; X. 169. 3, 4.

fed on barley and corn,<sup>210</sup> and supplied with pure drinking water raised from the wells and poured into wooden cattle-troughs which were bound with straps for being conveniently carried from the side of the wells to the cowpens.<sup>211</sup> Prayers were offered to Agni not to burn up the places where the cattle find refuge and food.<sup>212</sup> The milching of the cow was usually done by the daughter of the householder as the word *duhitṛ* proves.<sup>213</sup> We have already seen that besides milk and the preparations from milk, cow was also used for food and as a standard of value in purchasing goods. Oxen were used for ploughing<sup>214</sup> and for drawing cars and waggons.<sup>215</sup> The skin served the purpose of a mattress, specially for the newly married wife who had to sit on a cowhide along with her husband. The hide was also used in covering chariot.<sup>216</sup> We also read of wine-bottles made of leather,<sup>217</sup> of skins for carrying water,<sup>218</sup> of a skin filled with meath kept in the chariot<sup>219</sup> and of a skin containing curds.<sup>220</sup> No wonder, therefore, that Rigvedic princes vied with one another in making gifts of cows to the most deserving.<sup>221</sup> The name of the sacrificial fee *dakṣiṇā* is explained as referring originally to a cow placed on the right hand of the singer of hymns for reward. The composer of the hymns of the Rigveda compares himself to the cow and his hymn to the milk.<sup>222</sup> The composers also delight to compare their songs to the lowing of cows to their calves.<sup>223</sup>

Buffalo was well known.<sup>224</sup> We have already seen that besides its milk, its flesh was also eaten.<sup>225</sup> That buffaloes were used in drawing cars is evident from a hymn of the Rigveda<sup>226</sup> where mention is made of a car

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, X. 27. 8.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, I. 47. 3.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid, IV. 57. 4 ; X. 106. 2.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, VI. 47. 27.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, I. 85. 5.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, VI. 48. 18. Compare Krivi, Rigveda II. 17. 6 ; II. 22. 2.

<sup>216</sup> Rigveda I. 126. 1—4 ; V. 30. 12—15 ; VIII. 1. 33 ; VIII. 4. 20—21 ; VIII. 5. 37 ; VIII. 5. 47 ; I. 122. 7 ; VII. 8. 22.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, I. 186. 4.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, VI. 45. 25 ; VI. 45. 28 ; VIII. 77. 1.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, IV. 21. 8 ; V. 29. 7, 8 ; VI. 5. 37 ; VIII. 6. 48 ; VIII. 35. 8 ; IX. 33. 1.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 8 ; VI. 17. 11.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, X. 102.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, X. 101. 5—7.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, IX. 97. 47.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, II. 2. 1.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, I. 191. 10.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, IV. 45. 1.



which was drawn by a team, one of which was a bull and the other a buffalo. Buffaloes were also objects of gifts.<sup>227</sup>

The horse has various names in the Rigveda. It was called atya (runner), arvant (the swift), vājen (the strong), sapti (runner) and haya (the speeding). Horses of various colours were known, dun (harita, hari), ruddy (aruna, aruṣa, piśanga, rohita) dark-brown (śyava), white (śveta) etc. The regions bordering upon the Sindhu<sup>228</sup> and the Saraswati<sup>229</sup> were famous as breeding places of horses. Horses were used to draw not only carts laden with harvested corn<sup>230</sup> but also carriages or chariots containing passengers. It seems to have been considered undignified for a wealthy man to come to the sacrificial assembly in a one-horse car.<sup>231</sup> It is surprising to be told by some European scholars that though the horse was employed to draw carts and carriages or chariots, it was not used for riding.<sup>232</sup> Macdonell remarks "No mention is made of riding in battle."<sup>233</sup> Professor Keith observes "Though horse-riding was probably not unknown for other purposes, no mention is made of this use of the horse in war."<sup>234</sup> But as a matter of fact, we find innumerable references to horse-riding<sup>235</sup> and even of the use of horse in war.<sup>236</sup> Thus we read :—

"Where are your horses, where the reins ? How came ye ?  
how had ye the power ?  
Rein was on nose and seat on back  
The whip is laid upon the flank. The heroes stretch  
their thighs apart,  
Like women when the babe is born."<sup>237</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, VIII. 5. 37 ; VIII. 6. 48.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, X. 75. 8.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, I. 3. 10 ; II. 41. 48 ; VI. 61. 3, 4 ; VII. 90. 3.

<sup>230</sup> Rigveda X. 101. 7.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid, X. 131. 3.

<sup>232</sup> Macdonell—History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 150.

<sup>233</sup> Vedic Index, I. p. 42.

<sup>234</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 98.

<sup>235</sup> Rigveda I. 155. 1 ; I. 158. 3 ; I. 162. 17 ; II. 1. 6 ; II. 27. 22 ; V. 61. 2, 3 ; V. 61. 11 ; V. 53. 3 ; V. 34. 3 ; V. 64. 7 ; VIII. 5. 7, 8 ; VIII. 6. 36.

<sup>236</sup> Rigveda II. 34. 3 ; IV. 42. 5 ; V. 61 ; VI. 33. 1 ; VI. 46. 13, 14 ; VI. 47. 31 ; IX. 37. 5 ; IX. 86. 3 ; IX. 108. 2 ; X. 6. 6 ; X. 96. 10.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid, V. 61. 2—3.

No better description can be given of riding a horse. In another hymn addressed to the horse we read :

"If one, when seated, with excessive urging hath  
with his heel or with his whip distressed thee,  
All these thy woes, as with oblation's ladle at sacrifices,  
with my prayer I banish."<sup>238</sup>

As regards the use of the horse in war by the cavalry we read :

"Our heroes, winged with horses, come together.  
Let our car-warriors, Indra be triumphant."<sup>239</sup>

Here the poet evidently mentions two separate classes of warriors—"heroes winged with horses" (asvaparnāh, meaning 'riding on fleet horses') and "car-warriors." In another hymn we read :

"Heroes with noble horses (svaśvāh) fain for battle,  
selected warriors call on me in combat.

I Indra Maghavan excite the conflict.

I stir the dust, Lord of surpassing vigour."<sup>240</sup>

Dadhikras is the name of the divine war-horse whose feats are described in the Rigveda.<sup>241</sup> The Rigvedic Aryans were also fond of horse-racing which supplied the people with fun and excitement and the horses and their riders with exercise necessary to keep them fit. Thus we read :

"Indra hath helped Etaṣa, Somapresser, contending  
in the race of steeds with Sūrya."<sup>242</sup>

"To him these ladles go, to him these racing mares."<sup>243</sup>

"They have come nigh to you as treasure-lover,  
like mares, fleet-footed, eager for glory."<sup>244</sup>

The race-course was called Kāṣṭhā<sup>245</sup> or āji<sup>246</sup> and the person who instituted a horse-race was called āji-kṛt.<sup>247</sup> The Rigvedic Aryans were also fond of the race of chariots drawn by horses, for, it was "the peaceful preparation for the decisive struggle on the battle-field."<sup>248</sup> Thus we read :

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, I. 162. 17.

<sup>239</sup> Rigveda VI. 47. 31.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, IV. 38 ; IV. 39 ; IV. 40.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, I. 145. 3.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, VIII. 80. 8.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, VIII. 53. 6.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, IV. 42. 5.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, I. 61. 15.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, IV. 41. 9 ; compare also IX. 97. 25.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid, IV. 24. 8 ; X. 156. 1.

<sup>248</sup> Kaegi's The Rigveda, p. 19.

“Ho there ! why sittest thou (O Indra) at ease ? Make  
thou my chariot to be first :

And bring the fame of victory near.”<sup>249</sup>

“As for a chariot-race, the skilful Speaker (Soma),

Chief, Sage, Inventor, hath with song been started.”<sup>250</sup>

“Thou conquerest thus with might when car meets  
car and when the prize is staked.”<sup>251</sup>

The horse was occasionally used for sacrifice and its flesh was partaken of by the worshippers.<sup>252</sup> Horses like cows were also objects of gift.<sup>253</sup>

Camels are frequently mentioned.<sup>254</sup> They were used for carrying loads<sup>255</sup> and as objects of gift.<sup>256</sup>

Asses are also mentioned as drawing the car of the Aświns.<sup>257</sup> They were also objects of gift.<sup>258</sup> Wild ass is also referred to in the Rigveda<sup>259</sup> according to Von Roth.

Sheep<sup>260</sup> was a very useful animal in this age, for, besides its milk and flesh, its wool was a material for clothing. Pushan is described in one verse<sup>261</sup> as “weaving the raiment of the sheep.” The Indus region was woolly (suvāsā urnāvatī)<sup>262</sup> ; Paruṣṇī also was woolly<sup>263</sup> ; and the softest wool was of the ewes of Gāndhārāns.<sup>264</sup>

Goats are repeatedly mentioned in the Rigveda.<sup>265</sup> Pushan’s chariot like Thorr’s in the Edda is said to be drawn by a team of goats.<sup>266</sup> Besides

<sup>249</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 69. 5.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, IX. 91. 1.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid, IX. 53. 2.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, I. 163. 10, 12, 13, 19.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, I. 123. 2 ; VII. 18. 23 ; VIII. 1. 32 ; VIII. 3. 21, 22 ; VIII. 4. 19 ; VIII. 6. 47 ; VIII. 46. 23.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid, I. 138. 2 ; VII. 5. 37 ; VIII. 6. 48 ; VIII. 46. 22, 31.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, I. 138. 2.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, VIII. 5 ; VIII. 46.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid, I. 34. 9 ; I. 116. 2 ; I. 117. 16 ; I. 162. 21 ; IV. 36. 1 ; VIII. 74. 7.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid, VIII. Balkhilya Hymn No. 8. line 3.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid, X. 86. 18.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid, I. 10. 2 ; I. 51. 1 ; I. 52. 2 ; etc.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid, X. 26. 6.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, X. 75. 8.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid, IV. 22. 2 ; V. 52. 9.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, I. 126. 7.

<sup>265</sup> I. 162. 2 ; I. 163. 12 ; II. 39. 2 ; VII. 18. 17.

<sup>266</sup> Rigveda I. 138. 4 ; IX. 67. 10 ; X. 26. 8.



the milk of the she-goat, and the flesh of the goat, its wool was a material for clothing. In early times goat-skins were worn, ajin coming from aja, a goat.

Elephants,<sup>267</sup> deer,<sup>268</sup> spotted deer,<sup>269</sup> pigeons,<sup>270</sup> swans,<sup>271</sup> peafowls,<sup>272</sup> parrots,<sup>273</sup> quail,<sup>274</sup> chakwa (chakravāka),<sup>275</sup> cuckoo,<sup>276</sup> antelopes<sup>277</sup> and wild boars<sup>278</sup> are also mentioned.

*Economic importance of Forests*—The forests were of great economic value to the Indo-Aryans of this age. In the first place, they served as natural pastures.<sup>279</sup> Secondly, they were utilised as burial places and probably also as cremation grounds.<sup>280</sup> Thirdly, a hymn of the Rigveda<sup>281</sup> makes it apparent that certain classes of people used to live in the forest tracts. Lastly, they provided the house-holder with the materials for the construction of houses, chariots, sacrificial implements and the like. Above all, they were a constant source of fuel to the community.<sup>282</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that the people regularly prayed that the trees and the plants would be endowed with sweetness so that they might conduce to the benefit of the people—

“To us Herbs and Forest trees be gracious.”<sup>283</sup>

Again “May herbs that grow on ground and Heaven  
And Earth accordant with Forest-Sovrans, and both the  
World-halves round about protect us.”<sup>284</sup>

<sup>267</sup> Ibid, I. 64. 7 ; VI. 4. 5 ; VIII. 33. 8 ; VIII. 45. 5 ; IX. 57. 3 ; X. 106. 6.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid, I. 38. 5 ; I. 105. 7 ; I. 163. 1 ; VIII. 2. 6 ; IX. 32. 4.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid, I. 37. 2 ; VIII. 7. 28. <sup>270</sup> Ibid, I. 30. 4 ; X. 165. 1, 2.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid, I. 65. 5 ; I. 163. 10 ; VIII. 35. 8 ; VII. 59. 7 ; IX. 32. 3.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, I. 191. 14 ; III. 45. 1. <sup>273</sup> Ibid, I. 50. 12.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid, I. 112. 8 ; I. 117. 14 ; I. 117. 16. <sup>275</sup> Ibid, II. 39. 3.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid, VII. 104. 22. <sup>277</sup> Ibid, I. 64. 8 ; VIII. 4. 10.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid, I. 61. 7 ; I. 88. 5 ; I. 114. 5 ; VIII. 66. 10 ; VII. 55. 4 ; IX. 97. 7 ; X. 28. 4 ; X. 67. 7 ; X. 99. 6.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, X. 146. 3 ; compare Ibid, IV. 1. 15.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid, X. 18. 4, 10, 12.

<sup>281</sup> Compare Ibid, X. 146. 4, 5.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid, VII. 34. 23.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid, I. 135. 8 ; X. 31. 10 ; X. 51. 2 ; X. 97. 5.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid, X. 146. 4.

<sup>285</sup> Rigveda VII. 35. 5.

The various useful trees mentioned in the Rigveda are:—(1) Asvattha<sup>285</sup>: from the wood of this tree and of Sami tree are made the arañi, the two pieces of wood which are rubbed together to produce the sacred fire—the upper and the harder piece is the Sami and the lower and the softer is the Asvattha wood. The vessel for holding the Soma juice is made of the wood of this tree.<sup>286</sup> Other sacrificial vessels were also made of the wood of this tree and hence it is called “the home of plants used in religious ceremonies.”<sup>287</sup> (2) Same (Acacia Suma)<sup>288</sup>: its wood formed the upper log of arañi which when rubbed against the lower log of Asvattha wood produced the sacred fire. Its juice says Dhanwantari when applied on the body would deprive the skin of hair. (3) Parna or Palasa (Butea Frondosa)<sup>289</sup>: sacrificial vessels were made of the wood of this tree and hence it is called the “mansion” of the plants used in religious ceremonies.<sup>290</sup> (4) Khadira (Acacia Catechu): the pin of the axle of chariots was made of this hard wood.<sup>291</sup> (5) Haritāla (hāridrāva)<sup>292</sup>: according to Sāyana it was a kind of tree. (6) Semala (Salmalia Malbarica)<sup>293</sup>: it is also known as the Śimbala or Sālmali tree. Its blossoms give silk-cotton,<sup>294</sup> while its wood, being hard was used in the construction of the wheels of chariots.<sup>295</sup> (7) Sinsīpā, śīśu tree<sup>296</sup>: cars were made of this timber<sup>297</sup> which is called the “soveran of the wood”<sup>298</sup> (8) Kinsūka (Butea Frondosa)<sup>299</sup>: wheels of chariots were made of this wood.<sup>300</sup> (9) Vibhidaka or Vibhītaka (Terminalia Bellerica)<sup>301</sup>: These trees were tall, of windy heights and their nuts were used as dice in early times.<sup>302</sup> (10) Kākambara<sup>303</sup> it is apparently the name of some umbrageous tree.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>286</sup> Ibid, I. 135. 8.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid, X. 97. 5; X. 51. 2.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid, X. 97. 5.

<sup>291</sup> Rigveda III. 53. 19.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 22; VII. 50. 3; X. 85. 20.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid, X. 85. 20.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 19.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid, X. 85. 20.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid, X. 34. 1.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid, VI. 48. 7.

<sup>304</sup> Griffith—Rigveda, Vol. I. p. 614 fn.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, X. 97. 5.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid, IV. 27. 4; X. 97. 5.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, I. 50. 12.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 22.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 19.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 20.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid, X. 85. 20.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid, X. 34. 1

Various species of grass are also mentioned in the Rigveda :—  
 (1) *Dūrvā*<sup>305</sup> (*Panicum Dactylon*) : it is a species of bent grass whose filaments stretch horizontally away from the stem. (2) *Kuśa*<sup>306</sup> (*Poa Cynosuroides*) : this grass, after its roots are cut off, is spread on the sacrificial altar ; and upon it the libation of Soma juice or oblation of clarified butter is poured out. It is also spread over the sacrificial ground or floor to serve as a seat for the gods and the sacrificers. The flame produced by the attrition of the two logs of wood which constituted the *araṇi* was caught by the tuft of *Kuśa* grass carefully kept between the two.<sup>307</sup> (3) *Munja*<sup>308</sup> : the strainer through which Soma juice was filtered was made also of this grass.<sup>309</sup> (4) *Balbaja*<sup>310</sup> (*Eleusine Indica*) : it was a species of coarse grass used in religious ceremonies and for other purposes when plaited.<sup>311</sup> Besides these, different varieties of grass like *Sara*, *Darbha*, *Kuśara*, *Sairya* and *Virāṇa* are mentioned in which snakes and other venomous reptiles lurk.<sup>312</sup>

Among the plants Soma was undoubtedly the most important, for, as we have seen, its juice was used in sacrificial drink. It grew on the mountains, that of *Mujavant* being specially renowned.<sup>313</sup> Medicinal herbs and plants are frequently mentioned in the Rigveda.<sup>314</sup> In the tenth *maṇḍala* of the Rigveda we find a hymn of twenty-three stanzas in praise of medicinal herbs and plants.<sup>315</sup> Of these *Pata*<sup>316</sup> is mentioned, probably identical with *Pathā* (*Clypea Hernandifolia*), a climbing plant, possessing various medicinal properties.<sup>317</sup>

*Hunting and Fishing*—Besides agriculture and cattle-rearing, hunting and fishing remained the occupation of a large section of the people,

<sup>305</sup> Rigveda X. 134. 5 ; X. 142. 8.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, I. 4. 3 ; III. 29. 1.

<sup>307</sup> Rigveda III. 29. 1. In the *Śatapati Brāhmaṇa* V. 2. 1, 8 the wife of the sacrificer wears a garment of *Kuśa* grass for some rites—a relic of primitive dress.

<sup>308</sup> Rigveda I. 161. 8 ; I. 191. 3.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, I. 161. 8.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid. VIII. *Bāḥkhiya* 7. 3.

<sup>311</sup> Griffith's Rigveda Vol. II. p. 265 fn.

<sup>312</sup> Rigveda I. 191. 5.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, I. 93. 6 ; III. 48. 2 ; V. 36. 2 ; V. 43. 4 ; V. 85. 2 ; IX. 1. 18. etc.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, I. 43. 2 ; VII. 34. 23 ; VII. 35. 5.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid, X. 97.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid, X. 145. 1.

<sup>317</sup> Griffith's Rigveda, Vol. II. p. 589 fn.



specially the aborigines. The word *śva-ghnin* occurs in the *Rigveda*<sup>318</sup> in the sense of hunter as well as gambler. The arrow was employed in hunting down beasts<sup>319</sup> and the normal instruments of capture were nets and pitfalls. Nets were called *pāśa*<sup>320</sup> or *nidhā*,<sup>321</sup> the hunter being called *pāśin*. Pits were used for capturing antelopes (*ṛśya*) and so were called *ṛśya-da*, antelope-catching. Hunters chasing a deer<sup>322</sup> and wild elephants<sup>323</sup> are referred to. Lions were captured in pits covered with snares<sup>324</sup> or were surrounded by the hunters and slain.<sup>325</sup> In another passage<sup>326</sup> we read that "the Soma flows on in order to be taken up and used in libations as a lion goes to the place where men lie in wait to capture him or where a pitfall has been prepared to entrap him."<sup>327</sup> The capture of the wild steer is referred to thus :

"Even the wild steer in his thirst is captured : the  
leather strap still holds his foot entangled"<sup>328</sup>

Wild bulls were sometimes hunted down with the arrow 'from the archer's bow-string'.<sup>329</sup> The boar was captured in the chase with the help of hounds "who seize him and bite him in the ear."<sup>330</sup> Birds were caught in nets, the bird-catcher being called *nidhipati*. Sometimes birds were shot down with the arrow.<sup>331</sup>

Fish is mentioned in the *Rigveda*<sup>332</sup> as well as pearls.<sup>333</sup>

*The growth of arts and crafts*—As regards the arts and crafts of this period scholars differ. According to Professor Kaegi "In arts the race still stood on the lowest stage"<sup>334</sup> ; while Professor Ragozin and Macdonell hold the opposite view. According to Macdonell "already in this period

<sup>318</sup> I. 92. 10 ; II. 12. 4, 5 ; IV. 20. 3 ; VIII. 45. 38.

<sup>319</sup> *Rigveda*, IV. 58. 6 ; X. 51. 6.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*, IX. 83. 4 ; X. 73. 11.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid*, X. 40. 4.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid*, V. 15. 3.

<sup>327</sup> Griffith's *Rigveda*, Vol. I. p. 542 fn.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid*, X. 51. 6.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid*, II. 42. 2.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid*, I. 35. 4 ; I. 126. 4 ; VII. 18. 23 ; X. 68. 11.

<sup>334</sup> Introduction to the *Rigveda*, p. 40.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid*, III. 45. 1 ; VI. 43. 17.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid*, VIII. 2. 6.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid*, X. 28. 10.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid*, V. 74. 4.

<sup>328</sup> *Rigveda* X. 23. 10.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, X. 86. 4.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid*, VII. 18. 6 ; X. 68. 8.

specialisation in industry had begun." The chief impulse for this specialisation had come from the ever-increasing agricultural and military needs of the community, settled in the midst of a hostile population. There was a well-marked tendency towards division of labour and the growth of various sub-crafts, leading ultimately to the organisation of craftsmen even into guilds. A further impetus towards the development of industry came from the fact that in this age some of the craftsmen like the Ratha-kāra and the Takṣan enjoyed a considerable social status. They stood in close relation to the king of whom they were regarded as *sti* or clients.<sup>335</sup>

From the researches of Professors Max Muller<sup>336</sup> and Schrader<sup>337</sup> regarding the Indo-European group of languages we find great similarity existing between the Sanskrit words *Tan* and *Tanti* (string) and *Zend Tan* and *Greek Teinō* and *Latin Tendo*, all meaning stretching. For weaving we have the Sanskrit root *Ve*, akin to *Latin Vieo* and *Teutonic Weban*. Similarly, Sanskrit *Takṣan* is akin to *Zend Tashan* and *Greek Tektan*, all meaning a carpenter. For plaiting we have the Sanskrit root *Pre*, akin to *Greek Plekō* and *Latin Plico*, all similar in sound and meaning. The conclusion may, therefore, be safely drawn that a common knowledge of some of these crafts (*e.g.*, those of the weaver, the carpenter and the plaiter of grass and reeds) existed among the people speaking the Indo-European group of languages.

(1) *Weaving industry*—The *Rigveda* contains many passages which show that even then the people were perfectly familiar with the art of weaving. The passages, it must be confessed, are brief and casual, occurring mostly by way of similes and metaphors in hymns designed for the glorification of particular divinities; but they are none the less interesting and suggestive on that account. Thus the verse "Night and Morning like female weavers ..... interweave in concert the long-extended thread, the web of worship"<sup>338</sup> gives only a simile, yet that refers to a familiar fact whose existence cannot be questioned. Again we have a verse<sup>339</sup>

<sup>335</sup> *Rigveda* X. 97. 23; Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 96.

<sup>336</sup> *Biographies of Words*.

<sup>337</sup> *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*.

<sup>338</sup> *Rigveda* II. 3. 6.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*, II. 38. 6.



which Wilson following Sāyana paraphrases thus : "She (Night) enwraps the extended (world) like (a woman) weaving (a garment)." <sup>340</sup> Elsewhere we read "Mothers weave garments for him their offspring." <sup>341</sup> The words tantum, otum and vayanti occur in the following verse <sup>342</sup> : "I know not either warp or woof, I know not web they weave when moving to the contest." Here the threads of the warp (tantum) are the metres of the Vedas, those of the woof (otum), the liturgic prayers and ceremonial, the combination of which two is the cloth or sacrifice. According to the Vedantists the threads of the warp are the subtle elements, those of the woof the gross and their combination the universe. Tantum and Otum are also referred to figuratively in the following verse : "For both the warp and the woof he understandeth and in due time shall speak what should be spoken." <sup>343</sup> Tantra meaning warp or loom <sup>344</sup> and tasara meaning weaver's shuttle <sup>345</sup> are also mentioned. Vāya meaning a weaver occurs in the Rigveda <sup>346</sup> as also various uses of the root vā. <sup>347</sup> The expression vāso-vāya shows that other "Vāya"s had already arisen who produced sundry piece-goods other than the standard vāsas or wearing cloth ; besides there were the female weavers called "Siri"s. <sup>348</sup> Female weavers are often referred to in the Rigveda <sup>349</sup> and there is a fling at spinsters who spin out thread in ignorance. <sup>350</sup> Indeed we have a large number of words showing the extensive use of woven garments. Thus we have at least three words to denote the ordinary wearing cloth viz., Vāsas, vastra and vasana. We read—

"To you as to a vāsas in winter, we cleave close." <sup>351</sup>

"When he (Sun) hath lossed his Horses from their station,  
straight over all Night spreadeth out her vāsas." <sup>352</sup>

<sup>340</sup> Wilson's Rigveda II. p. 307.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, V. 47. 6.

<sup>342</sup> Rigveda V. 9. 3.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid, X. 130. 2.

<sup>344</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index : 'Vāya' and 'otu.'

<sup>345</sup> Rigveda X. 71. 9.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, II. 3. 6 ; II. 38. 4. cf. V. 47. 6.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid, X. 71. 9.

<sup>348</sup> I. 115. 4.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, VI. 9. 2.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, X. 71. 9.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid, X. 26. 6.

<sup>352</sup> Rigveda I. 34. 1.



"Vāsas is body, food in life and healing ointment  
giveth strength."<sup>353</sup>

"Loose in the wind the woman's vāsas was streaming."<sup>354</sup>

"O worthy of oblation, Lord of prospering powers,  
assume they vastra."<sup>355</sup>

"For thee the radiant Dawns in the far distant sky  
broaden their lovely vastra forth in wondrous beams."<sup>356</sup>

"Anspicious, clad in white and shining vastra."<sup>357</sup>

"Loudly the folk cry after him in battles, as it were  
a thief who steals away a vastra."<sup>358</sup>

"Like fair and well-made vastras, I seeking riches,  
as a deft craftsman makes a car, have wrought them."<sup>359</sup>

"Yea from his Mother draws he forth a new vasana."<sup>360</sup>

The vāsas seem to have borders and fringes denoted by the word sic. Thus in one hymn of the Rigveda<sup>361</sup> the child is covered by its mother's sic and in another<sup>362</sup> the horizons at Sunrise and Sunset are said to be the two sican of the sky-cloth. In yet another hymn<sup>363</sup> we read "I grasp, mighty Indra, thy garment's hem as a child his father's." The upper part of the body was covered by another separate garment called adhivāsa.<sup>364</sup> The forests are the adhivāsa of mother earth licked by the fire-child.<sup>365</sup> The drāpi<sup>366</sup> is not a coat of mail as the authors of the Vedic Index say, for, it was worn by women as well. In Atharvaveda<sup>367</sup> Arati is called hiranya-drāpi and is likened to a courtesan for wearing it. Moreover, the use of vasānah<sup>368</sup> would rather show that it was made of vāsas. Further in the Atharvaveda<sup>369</sup> the Sun wearing the three worlds

<sup>353</sup> Ibid, VIII. 3. 24.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid, X. 102. 2.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, I. 26. 1.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid, I. 134. 4.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid, III. 39. 2.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid, IV. 33. 5.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, V. 29. 15.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid, I. 95. 7. For other references to woven garments read Rigveda I. 140. 1; I. 152. 1; II. 14. 3; III. 1. 6; III. 8. 4; V. 42. 8; V. 57. 4-5; VI. 4. 3; VI. 11. 6; VI. 35. 1; VI. 47. 23; IX. 8. 6; IX. 96. 1; X. 71. 4.

<sup>361</sup> X. 18. 11.

<sup>362</sup> Rigveda, I. 95. 7.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid, III. 53. 2.

<sup>364</sup> Rigveda I. 140. 9; X. 5. 4.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid, I. 140. 9.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid, I. 116. 10; IV. 53. 2; IX. 100. 9.

<sup>367</sup> V. 7. 10.

<sup>368</sup> Compare drāpim vasānah, Rigveda IX. 86. 14.

<sup>369</sup> XIII. 3. 1.

is said to have made a drāpi of them, so that drāpi like a vest or waist-coat had three pieces—two side ones and one back. It was close-fitting<sup>370</sup> and gold-embroidered.<sup>371</sup> The atka<sup>372</sup> was worn by men only and was a long<sup>373</sup> and fully covering<sup>374</sup> close-fitting<sup>375</sup> cloak, bright<sup>376</sup> and beautiful,<sup>377</sup> the stuff being bleached<sup>378</sup> cotton<sup>379</sup> interwoven<sup>380</sup> or embroidered<sup>381</sup> with gold threads. Peśas<sup>382</sup> is gold embroidered cloth,<sup>383</sup> the designs being artistic and intricate<sup>384</sup> and the inlay of gold heavy and brilliant.<sup>385</sup>

The material for clothing was probably wood (ūrṇā). Puṣan is described as vāso-vāya, weaving woolen cloth.<sup>386</sup> Indra is "wearing wool Paruṣhṇe for adornment"<sup>387</sup> while the Maruts are said to "tarry on the Paruṣhṇe, putting on robes of wool."<sup>388</sup> In another hymn we learn of "weaving the raiment of the sheep."<sup>389</sup> In this age the wool of Gāndhāra,<sup>390</sup> of the Paruṣhṇi country<sup>391</sup> and of Sind<sup>392</sup> was highly prized.

<sup>370</sup> Rigveda I. 166. 10 (Cyavāna's old age like a drāpi); probably drāpi = a tight vest suitable for running about (drā).

<sup>371</sup> Ibid, I. 25. 13 (hiraṇyayam); IV. 53. 2 (piśaṅgam).

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, I. 95. 7; I. 122. 2; IV. 18. 5; VI. 29. 3; VIII. 41. 7 etc.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid, II. 35. 14 (food carried in one's own atka : i.e., in the long skrit made into an apron.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid, V. 74. 5 (vavriṃ atkaṃ, likened to Cyavana's old age).

<sup>375</sup> Surabhimatkaṃ : Rigveda VI. 29. 3; X. 123. 7.

<sup>376</sup> Like Sun : Rigveda VI. 29. 3; X. 123. 7.

<sup>377</sup> Sudrśi : Rigveda I. 122. 2.

<sup>378</sup> Śukram : Rigveda I. 95. 7.

<sup>379</sup> As vyūtam (Rigveda I. 122. 2) and frequent use of vasānah shows.

<sup>380</sup> Hiraṇyair vyūtam : Rigveda I. 122. 2.

<sup>381</sup> Hiraṇyayān : Rigveda V. 56. 6.

<sup>382</sup> Rigveda I. 92. 4; IV. 36. 7; II. 3. 6; VII. 34. 11; X. 114. 3 etc.

<sup>383</sup> Rigveda IV. 36. 7. VIII. 31. 11; VII. 42. 1.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid, II. 3. 6.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid, VII. 34. 11 (the glittering surface of rivers = peśas). Compare X. 114. where peśas is called bright as ghee (i.e., golden.)

<sup>386</sup> Rigveda X. 26. 6.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid, IV. 22. 2.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid, V. 52. 9.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid, X. 26. 6.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid, I. 126. 6—7.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid, IV. 22. 2; V. 52. 9.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid, X. 75. 8.



In the Rigveda there is no mention of cotton (kārpās) though silk-cotton tree was known. When, however, we bear in mind that already in the Calcholithic age the people of the Punjab and Sind knew the use of cotton and cotton-weaving the following remarks of Professor Muir gain added strength : "It is difficult to conceive that cotton (which as we learn from Professor S. H. Balfour, is supposed to have been indigenous in India), though not mentioned in the hymns, should have been unknown when they were composed or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate."<sup>393</sup> Long ago Professor Ragozin also wrote in the same strain "The Aryan settlers of Northern India had already begun at an amazingly early period to excel in the manufactures of the delicate tissue which has ever been and is today doubtless incomparably great in perfection, one of their industrial glories—a fact which implies cultivation of cotton-plant or tree."<sup>394</sup>

**Metal industry**—The metal industry was also in a highly developed condition "but it is, however, still uncertain" says Mr. Macdonell "what that metal which was called *ayas* was." The evidence of some of the old texts is often misleading. Thus in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>395</sup> *ayas* is any metal which is neither gold nor lead. In the Vājasenīya Samhitā<sup>396</sup> *ayas* is separated from Loha and Śyāmam. From the Atharvaveda<sup>397</sup> and even the Rigveda<sup>398</sup> the sense of iron for *ayas* is certain. Professor Schrader in his Prehistoric Antiquities well points out that Sanskrit *ayas* = Latin *aes* = Goth *aiz* = Zend *ayarih*, meaning pure dark copper and it is, therefore, quite probable that *ayas* of the Rigveda was neither iron nor bronze but the pure dark copper, a knowledge of which was common to all the Indo-European peoples. He further points out that "a series of names of copper gradually assumes the name of iron." Thus Sanskrit Loha originally meant copper but later it was used to denote iron.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>393</sup> Muir's Sanskrit Texts, V. p. 462.

<sup>394</sup> Ragozin—Vedic India, p. 306.

<sup>395</sup> V. 1. 2. 14.

<sup>396</sup> XVIII. 13.

<sup>397</sup> X. 3. 17.

<sup>398</sup> V. 25.

<sup>399</sup> Schrader—Prehistoric Antiquities, p. 212 ; Max Muller—Biographies, of Words, Appendix V. ; Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. p. 32.



In the Rigveda we have distinct references to the smelting of metals<sup>400</sup> and the business of the smith.<sup>401</sup> Vessels called mahāvira or gharmā made of ayas<sup>402</sup> and receptacles hammered or formed with a tool of ayas<sup>403</sup> are mentioned. We also read of chariots whose pillars or rather poles were made of ayas.<sup>404</sup> Knives made of ayas,<sup>405</sup> axes wrought of good metal,<sup>406</sup> arrows tipped with ayas<sup>407</sup> and the bits of the horse made of ayas<sup>408</sup> are also mentioned. Swords,<sup>409</sup> breast-plates,<sup>410</sup> lances,<sup>411</sup> spears,<sup>412</sup> daggers,<sup>413</sup> rings or quoits,<sup>414</sup> hatchets,<sup>415</sup> axes,<sup>416</sup> knives,<sup>417</sup> awls,<sup>418</sup> sickle,<sup>419</sup> hooks,<sup>420</sup> nails,<sup>421</sup> needles<sup>422</sup> and razors<sup>423</sup> are mentioned.

According to Professor Schrader gold was known to the Indo-Iranians as is proved by the similarity between Sanskrit *hiranya* and zend *zaranya*; and as a matter of fact we find innumerable references to gold and its use in the manufacture of weapons and ornaments as well as in exchange. Golden helmets for the head,<sup>424</sup> golden swords,<sup>425</sup> golden fellies,<sup>426</sup> cars

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- <sup>400</sup> Rigveda IV. 2. 17; V. 9. 5; VI. 3. 4; VI. 12. 3; IX. 72. 2; X. 81. 3.  
<sup>401</sup> Ibid., IX 72. 2; IX. 112. 2.      <sup>402</sup> Ibid., V. 30. 15.  
<sup>403</sup> Ibid., IX. 1. 2; IX. 80. 2.      <sup>404</sup> Ibid., V. 62. 7; V. 62. 8.  
<sup>405</sup> Ibid., VIII. 29. 3.,      <sup>406</sup> Ibid., X. 53. 9.  
<sup>407</sup> Ibid., VI. 75. 15.      <sup>408</sup> Ibid., IV. 37. 4.  
<sup>409</sup> Ibid., I. 37. 2; I. 87. 6; I. 88. 3; V. 53. 4; X. 20. 6.  
<sup>410</sup> Ibid., V. 53. 4.  
<sup>411</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 4; I. 88. 1; V. 54. 11; V. 55. 1; V. 60. 3; VIII. 20. 11.  
<sup>412</sup> Ibid., I. 31. 1; I. 37. 2; I. 85. 4; I. 87. 3; I. 167. 3; I. 169. 3; V. 57. 2; X. 78. 7.  
<sup>413</sup> Ibid., V. 57. 2.  
<sup>414</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 10; I. 87. 6; I. 166. 9; I. 168. 3; VIII. 85. 9; X. 38. 1; X. 73. 9.  
<sup>415</sup> Ibid., III. 8. 11; VI. 3. 4.  
<sup>416</sup> Ibid., I. 162. 9; I. 162. 18; III. 2. 1; III. 2. 10; III. 52. 22; V. 48. 4; VII. 3. 9; VII. 83. 1; VII. 104. 21; VIII. 62. 17; IX. 96. 6; X. 53. 10.  
<sup>417</sup> Ibid., I. 130. 4; cf. I. 166. 10.      <sup>418</sup> Ibid., VI. 53. 6.  
<sup>419</sup> Ibid., I. 58. 4; IV. 20. 5; VIII. 67. 10; X. 101. 3.  
<sup>420</sup> Ibid., I. 162. 3; III. 45. 4.  
<sup>421</sup> Ibid., I. 162. 9.      <sup>422</sup> Ibid., II. 33. 4.  
<sup>423</sup> Ibid., VIII. 4. 16; X. 28. 9; cf. X. 142. 4.  
<sup>424</sup> Ibid., II. 34. 3; VIII. 7. 25.  
<sup>425</sup> Ibid., I. 42. 6; VII. 97. 7; VIII. 7. 32.  
<sup>426</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 11.

with golden seats,<sup>427</sup> chariots decked with gold,<sup>428</sup> golden mail,<sup>429</sup> golden coloured mail,<sup>430</sup> golden mantles,<sup>431</sup> spears and weapons bright with gleaming gold<sup>432</sup> and arrows decked with gold<sup>433</sup> are mentioned.

Gold ornaments are frequently mentioned.<sup>434</sup> Gold chains worn on the breast,<sup>435</sup> gold on the priest's finger,<sup>436</sup> visors of gold for the head,<sup>437</sup> gold trappings for horses,<sup>438</sup> golden ornaments for kine<sup>439</sup> and golden goad for horses<sup>440</sup> are mentioned. Besides golden ornaments we find many references to glittering ornaments.<sup>441</sup> In the four Vedas, however, the word *alamkāra* does not occur.<sup>442</sup> The words *aramkṛta* and *aramkṛti*, having the sense of ornament do occur. From the Rigveda we get the names of the following ornaments of this period :—(1) *Anūka*. Geldner takes it as an ornament, though Roth, Ludwig and Oldenburg take it as an adverb only. But as the Vedic commentators have taken it to be an ornament, we may accept it as such. (2) *Opaśa*.<sup>443</sup> It was used for adorning the head. Roth thinks that it was a corruption of *aba + paśa* and hence meant hair-tape or hair net.<sup>444</sup> (3) *Karṇa-śovana*.<sup>445</sup> It means an ornament for the ears, hence earring. (4) *Kukīra*.<sup>446</sup> According to

<sup>427</sup> Ibid., IV. 46. 4.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., V. 57. 1 ; VII. 69. 1 ; VIII. 5. 35 ; VIII. 46. 24.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., I. 25. 13.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid. IV. 53. 2.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., V. 55. 6.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid., V. 52. 6.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid., VIII. 66. 11.

<sup>434</sup> Ibid., I. 85. 3 ; V. 56. 1 ; VII. 57. 3 ; VIII. 20. 11 ; X. 46. 33.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 4 ; I. 166. 10 ; V. 54. 11 ; X. 78. 2 ; cf. VIII. 20. 22.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid., VIII. 29. 1 ; IX. 27. 4 ; IX. 55. 1 ; IX. 86. 43 ; IX. 97. 1.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid., V. 54. 11.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., IV. 2. 8 ; IV. 37. 4.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid., VIII. 54. 10.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid., VIII. 55. 3.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid., I. 37. 2 ; I. 64. 4 ; I. 166. 10 ; V. 53. 4 ; VIII. 20. 7 ; VIII. 67. 2.

<sup>442</sup> The word *alamkāra* occurs for the first time in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* : *Añjanāvyañjane prayachchatieṣaḥ amānuṣaḥ alamkāraḥ*, XIII. 84. 7 ; also III. 5. 1. 36.

<sup>443</sup> Rigveda, X. 85. 8.

<sup>444</sup> Bloomfield in his *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, pp. 538—39 takes it meant coverlet for women (*Orpā*). Prof. Subimal Sarkar in his *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, pp. 71—72 take it to mean a style of hair-dressing.

<sup>445</sup> Rigveda, I. 112. 14 ; VIII. 67. 3.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid., X. 85. 8.

Zimmer it means peacock and therefore may well have been an arch-like ornament.<sup>447</sup> (5) *Kṛśan* (6) *Kṛśanin* (7) *Khādi*. According to Roth it was of three kinds : (a) an ornament for the legs like anklets<sup>448</sup> (b) an ornament for the arms like modern armlets or for the wrists like modern bangles<sup>449</sup> and (c) ring for the fingers.<sup>450</sup> (8) *Niṣka*. It was a necklace consisting of niṣkas, a kind of coins, as the word niṣkagrīva<sup>451</sup> would show. (9) *Nyochanī*. (10) *Puṇḍarīka* (11) *Puṣkara* (12) *Pravūṣaṇa* (13) *Varhana* (14) *Vūṣaṇa* (15) *Maṇi*.<sup>452</sup> It was a jewel worn on the neck, as the word maṇigrīva<sup>453</sup> would prove, by means of a thread.<sup>454</sup> According to the commentator Dūrgacārya<sup>455</sup> maṇi = aditya-maṇi, Sūryakānta-maṇi. (16) *Ratna* (17) *Rukma*.<sup>456</sup> It was an ornament worn on the breast,<sup>457</sup> as the epithet rukma-vakṣas<sup>458</sup> would prove. It appears to have been worn by the males as well, for, the Maruts or Wind-gods are described as decorated with it.<sup>459</sup> (18) *Rukmi* (19) *Lalāmī*. It was a tiara worn on the forehead like a frontlet. (20) *Varimat* (21) *Vyāñjana*. (22) *Viṣana* (23) *Śatapatra* (24) *Sivana*. (25) *Suniṣka*. (26) *Stūkā* (27) *Hiranyayī* (28) *Hiranyaśipra* (29) *Hirimat*.

**Carpentry**—The worker in wood constructed carts,<sup>460</sup> chariots<sup>461</sup> for war and race, ferry-boats<sup>462</sup> and ships.<sup>463</sup> Chariots were usually made of the wood of the Sinśipā tree ;<sup>464</sup> the wheels of the chariots were made of

<sup>447</sup> Mr. Subimal Sarkar in his *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, p. 72 takes it to be a kind of horn-shaped Coiffure.

<sup>448</sup> Rigveda, V. 53. 4 ; V. 53. 11.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid., I. 64. 10.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid., I. 168. 3.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., V. 19. 3.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid., I. 33. 8.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid., I. 122. 14.

<sup>454</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XX. 16. 6.

<sup>455</sup> VII. 23.

<sup>456</sup> Rigveda, I. 166. 10.

<sup>457</sup> Cf. Rukmapāśa in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa VI. 7. 1. 7.

<sup>458</sup> Rigveda II. 34. 2 ; II. 34. 8 ; V. 55. 1 ; V. 57. 5 etc.

<sup>459</sup> Ibid., V. 54. 11.

<sup>460</sup> Rigveda, II. 2. 1.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid., I. 61. 4 ; I. 94. 1 ; I. 130. 6 ; V. 2. 11 etc.

<sup>462</sup> Tārāḥ, Rigveda I. 190. 7.

<sup>463</sup> Rigveda, I. 116. 4 ; I. 116. 5 ; I. 25. 7 ; I. 48. 3 ; I. 97. 7 ; I. 131. 2 ; V. 25. 9 ; V. 45. 10 ; V. 54. 4 ; V. 59. 2 ; VI. 58. 3 ; VIII. 18. 17 ; VIII. 64. 9 ; VIII. 72. 3 ; IX. 73. 1.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 19.



the wood of the Śemal tree<sup>465</sup> and of the Sinśipā tree;<sup>466</sup> and the pin of the axle of chariots was made of the wood of the Khadira tree.<sup>467</sup> The fashioning of chariots was a frequent source of metaphor, the poet comparing his own skill of composing hymns to that of the wheel-wright.<sup>468</sup> The carpenter's work (takṣana) is also referred to in many passages.<sup>469</sup> One passage<sup>470</sup> even describes "the carpenter who usually bends over his work till his back aches." Sacrificial vessels were made usually of Palāśa wood.<sup>471</sup> Wooden buckets<sup>472</sup> wooden vessels,<sup>473</sup> large wooden sacrificial ladle,<sup>474</sup> small wooden ladle, specially for Soma libation,<sup>475</sup> wooden ladle,<sup>476</sup> wooden posts with carved images of girls on them<sup>477</sup> and wooden bedsteads are mentioned. Of the last there were three varieties: (1) the *talpa*<sup>478</sup> (2) the *proṣṭha*<sup>479</sup> and (3) *vahya*.<sup>480</sup> Talpa was apparently the nuptial bedstead as the special use of the word *talpa*<sup>481</sup> in the sense of legitimate son, being born on the nuptial bed<sup>482</sup> and its being made of sacred udambara wood would indicate. Proṣṭha as the epithet *proṣṭhasāya* would show was a furniture to recline on; while vahya was a couch as proved by the simile in the Atharvaveda<sup>483</sup> like a tired bride ascending the vahya.

**Pottery**—The potter's art was also known. We read of Indra smashing the enemies like earthen vessels.<sup>484</sup> We also read of girls bearing water in their jars-<sup>485</sup> evidently made of pottery.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., X. 85. 20.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 19.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 19.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid., I. 61. 4; I. 94. 1; I. 130. 6; III. 38. 1; V. 2. 11; V. 29. 15.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid., IV. 35. 6; IV. 36. 5; VI. 32. 1.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid., I. 105. 18.

<sup>471</sup> Ibid., X. 97. 5.

<sup>472</sup> Ibid., X. 101. 7.

<sup>473</sup> Cf. *Hvārā*, Rigveda, I. 180. 3. According to Ludwig it means neither a snake nor a thief but a tub or wooden vessel. The common name for a wooden vessel was *dropa*, Rigveda, VI. 2. 8; VI. 37. 2; VI. 42. 10; IX. 65. 6; IX. 92. 6; IX. 93. 1.)

<sup>474</sup> *Sruc*, Rigveda, I. 84. 18; I. 110. 6; I. 144. 1.

<sup>475</sup> *Sruva*, Rigveda, I. 116. 24; I. 121. 6.

<sup>476</sup> *Dravi*, Rigveda, V. 6. 9; X. 105. 10.

<sup>477</sup> Rigveda, IV. 32. 23.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 8.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 8.

<sup>480</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 8.

<sup>481</sup> *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII. 1. 6. 2.

<sup>482</sup> *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>483</sup> IV. 20. 3.

<sup>484</sup> Rigveda, VII. 104. 21; X. 89. 7.

<sup>485</sup> Ibid., I. 119. 14.

**Leather work**—The tanner (*carmanna*)<sup>486</sup> and the leather-worker are also mentioned.<sup>487</sup> We read of leather-receptacles for storing wine,<sup>488</sup> meat,<sup>489</sup> curds<sup>490</sup> and water,<sup>491</sup> leather-straps for chariots<sup>492</sup> etc.

**Manufacture of liquor**—The principal liquors manufactured were the Soma and the Surā. The juice was extracted from the Soma plant by being pounded with stones,<sup>493</sup> held in the hands.<sup>494</sup> Then the juice was squeezed out with the fingers,<sup>495</sup> and strained through a sieve made of wool<sup>496</sup> or of muñja grass.<sup>497</sup> Thus strained, the juice was blended with milk or curds.<sup>498</sup> Another intoxicating liquor manufactured was the Surā. According to the Taittiriya Brahmana "it was, as opposed to Soma, essentially a drink of ordinary life."<sup>499</sup> Pānta was the name of another drink in this age.<sup>500</sup> As it was offered to the gods, commentators identified it with Soma. But it may well have been a drink of a different kind.

**House-building**—Though we have no extant remains of any building of this period, the great variety of words denoting a house to be found in the Rigveda shows that the people were long settled with a tradition of house-building. Agni raising his smoke to heaven has been compared to the builder of a house, rearing up a structure.<sup>501</sup> Measurement in connection with the building of a house or chamber is also referred to.<sup>502</sup> *Gaya*<sup>503</sup> is a common word for the house, inclusive of the inmates and their belongings; so are *dama*,<sup>504</sup> meaning house or home, implying an

<sup>486</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 5. 38.

<sup>487</sup> Muir—Original Sanskrit Texts, pp. 462 ff.

<sup>488</sup> Rigveda, I. 191. 10.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid., IV. 45. 1.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid., VI. 48. 18.

<sup>491</sup> Ibid., I. 85. 6; V. 83. 7.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid., VI. 47. 27.

<sup>493</sup> *Grāvan*, Rigveda, I. 83. 6; I. 135. 7; *adri*, Rigveda, I. 130. 2; I. 135. 5.

<sup>494</sup> Rigveda, V. 45. 7; IX. 11. 5.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid., IX. 67. 8.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid., I. 135. 6; IX. 103. 2, 3.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid., I. 161. 8.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid., IX. 103. 2.

<sup>499</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, II. p. 458.

<sup>500</sup> Rigveda, I. 122. 1; I. 155. 1; VII. 92. 1; X. 88. 1.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., IV. 6. 2.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid., II. 75. 3.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid., I. 74. 2; V. 10. 3; V. 44. 7; VI. 2. 8.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid., I. 1. 8; I. 61. 9., I. 75. 5; II. 1. 2.

idea of control<sup>505</sup> and *dhāman*,<sup>506</sup> implying dwelling and signifying on the one hand the inmates of the house<sup>507</sup> and on the other law<sup>508</sup>—showing the connection in the Vedic mind between the house and all conceptions of law and order. Similarly, *śarma*<sup>509</sup> is a house and *pastyā(f)*<sup>510</sup> and *pastya(n)*<sup>511</sup> occurring singly or in the compounds *pastyāvant*<sup>512</sup> *pastyavant*<sup>513</sup> and *pastya-sad*<sup>514</sup> are other terms denoting a house. *Dur*,<sup>515</sup> the earlier and commoner word for door<sup>516</sup> has an implied sense of the whole house,<sup>517</sup> and *dur-ya* (door-posts),<sup>518</sup> *duryoṇa*,<sup>519</sup> all signify the house itself. *Sthāṇu*<sup>520</sup> and *sthūnā*<sup>521</sup> are early names for pillars while smaller timber-posts were *svaru*,<sup>522</sup> *Yūpa*<sup>523</sup> and *drupad*.<sup>524</sup> This great variety of names for posts and pillars shows that they were a marked feature of a particular type of house-building. We have also references to the use of metals in the construction of houses such as *ayaḥsthūṇa* (pillar made of ayas).<sup>525</sup> In the Rigveda a sage named Saptagu prayed to Indra for “a spacious home unmatched among the people.”<sup>526</sup>

<sup>505</sup> Roth—St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. dama.

<sup>506</sup> Rigveda, I. 144. 1 ; II. 3. 2 ; III. 55. 10 ; VIII. 61. 4 ; VIII. 87. 2 ; X. 31. 1.

<sup>507</sup> Ibid., VIII. 101. 6 ; IX. 36. 14 ; X. 82. 3.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid., IV. 55. 2 ; VI. 21. 3 ; VII. 63. 3 ; VIII. 41. 10 ; X. 48. 11.

<sup>509</sup> Rigveda VII. 82. 1 ; I. 51. 15.

<sup>510</sup> Ibid., I. 25. 10 ; I. 40. 7 ; I. 164. 30 ; IV. 1. 11 ; VI. 49. 9 ; VII. 97. 5 ; IX. 65. 23 ; X. 46. 6.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid., X. 96. 10, 11.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid., I. 151. 2 ; II. 11. 6 ; IV. 54. 5 ; IX. 97. 18.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid., IV. 55. 3 ; VIII. 27. 5.

<sup>514</sup> Ibid., VI. 51. 9. Roth—St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. ; Pischel—Ved. Stud. Vol. II. p. 211.

<sup>515</sup> Rigveda, I. 68. 10 ; I. 113. 4 ; I. 121. 4 ; I. 188. 5.

<sup>516</sup> *Dvār* in Rigveda, I. 13. 16.

<sup>517</sup> Thus *Dur-ya* (in masculine plural) = belonging to the door or to the house : Rigveda, I. 91. 19 ; X. 40. 12.

<sup>518</sup> Ibid., IV. 1. 9, 18 ; IV. 2. 12 ; VII. 1. 11.

<sup>519</sup> Ibid., I. 174. 7 ; V. 29. 10 ; V. 32. 8.

<sup>520</sup> Ibid., X. 40. 13.

<sup>521</sup> Ibid., I. 59. 1 ; V. 45. 2 ; V. 62. 7 ; VIII. 17. 14.

<sup>522</sup> Ibid., I. 92. 5 ; I. 162. 9 ; III. 8. 6.

<sup>523</sup> Ibid., I. 51. 14.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid., I. 24. 13 ; IV. 32. 23.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid., V. 62. 7, 8.

<sup>526</sup> X. 47. 8.



The word *gr̥ha* occurs in many passages of the Rigveda.<sup>527</sup> According to some it denotes the house of the Vedic Aryan ; but as it is used of a special type of Śmaśāna, it may well have been a mansoleum erected over or beside the grave as described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>528</sup>

The *harmya*<sup>529</sup> denoted the Vedic house including stables etc<sup>530</sup> and was adorned with pillars which supported the roof.<sup>531</sup> Mitra and Varuṇa had a palace with one thousand pillars.<sup>532</sup> The sage Bharadvāja prayed to Indra for a house which should be tri-dhātu and tri-varūtha.<sup>533</sup> According to some scholars the house prayed for was to be made of wood, brick and stone and hence called tri-dhātu. Śāyana explains tridhātu by the word tri-bhūmika, that is, three-storied or possessing three court-yards or separate apartments. The first that was in the front was probably constructed with stone to make it strong enough to stand the attacks of enemies or robbers and the second and third were made of mud and timber. The word tri-varūtha occurs again in another verse<sup>534</sup> where it probably means a house possessing three apartments. We also find references to ladies' apartments<sup>535</sup> halls of sacrifice with doors,<sup>536</sup> cow-pens<sup>537</sup> and stables for horses.<sup>538</sup>

<sup>527</sup> II. 42. 3 ; III. 53. 6 ; IV. 49. 6 ; V. 76. 4 ; VIII. 10. 1 ; X. 18. 12 ; X. 85. 26.

<sup>528</sup> The unorthodox memorial structure was round and domeshaped (parimaṇḍalā, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 8. 1), 'enclosed by an indefinite number of Stones' (Ibid., XIII. 8. 2. 2). The Orthodox style is square or quadrilateral (Ibid., XIII. 8. 1. 1 ff), not separate from the earth, that is, not towering (Ibid., XIII. 8. 2. 1) and made of bricks one foot square (Ibid., XIII. 8. 4. 11). The unorthodox style was the prototype of Buddhist Stupa architecture and the Orthodox style is represented in the temple architecture of Mādūrā, Tanjore and other cities of Southern India.

<sup>529</sup> Rigveda I. 166. 4 ; IX. 71. 4 ; IX. 78. 3 ; X. 43. 3 ; X. 73. 10.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid., VII. 56. 16 ; cf. X. 106. 5.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid., IV. 5. 1.

<sup>532</sup> Sahasra-sthūna, Ibid., II. 41. 5 ; V. 62. 6 ; VII. 88. 5.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid., VI. 46. 9.

<sup>534</sup> Rigveda X. 66. 5.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid., I. 167. 3.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid., I. 13. 6 ; I. 188. 5 ; II. 3. 5 ; III. 4. 5 ; III. 34. 7 ; III. 51. 3 ; V. 5. 5 ; V. 11. 4 ; V. 13. 3 ; VI. 27. 2.

<sup>537</sup> Ibid., I. 92. 4 ; I. 191. 4 ; V. 33. 10 ; V. 34. 5 ; V. 45. 6 ; V. 62. 2 ; VI. 10. 3 ; VI. 17. 2 ; VI. 28. 1 ; VI. 45. 24 ; VI. 62. 11 ; VI. 65. 5.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., VII. 56. 16 ; cf. X. 106. 5.

Building activities must also have developed in these times through the needs of social and corporate life as in the case of the *goṣṭhi* (clubs), the *vidatha* (royal audience-hall), the *sabhā* and the like.<sup>539</sup>

We have no direct allusion to the *arts of painting and sculpture* in the hymns of the Rigveda. According to Max Muller "the religion of the Veda knows of no idols"<sup>540</sup> though Dr. Ballensen<sup>541</sup> finds in the hymns clear references to the images of gods. Thus we read : "who for ten milch kine purchaseth from me this Indra who is mine ? When he hath slain the Vṛtras let the buyer give him back to me."<sup>542</sup> Now what is signified by the purchase of Indra for ten milch kine ? Was there any painted figure of Indra or carved out image of Indra on wood or stone that used to be temporarily parted with for a consideration and returned after worship ? Or, is it merely a metaphorical way, as Griffith points out, of saying that the poet-priest who had obtained the favour of Indra for his patron by sacrifice demanded a fee of ten milch kine ? We further read : "O Caster of Stone, I would not sell thee for a mighty price, not for a thousand, Thunderer ! nor ten thousand, nor a hundred, Lord of countless wealth."<sup>543</sup> The word used here for price is *śulka*. The reference must, therefore, have been to an image of Indra. The authors of the Vedic Index observe "Ten cows are regarded as a possible price for an (image of) Indra to be used as a fetish (Rigveda IV. 24. 10); elsewhere (VIII. 1. 5) not hundred, nor a thousand nor a myriad are considered as an adequate price (*śulka*) for the purchase of Indra" In this connection it is worthy of note that the description of gods in the Rigveda is mainly anthropomorphical and it is just possible that artists sometimes painted their figures in colour or carved out images on wood or stone to represent their functions. As a matter of fact, carved images on wooden posts are mentioned in a verse which reads : "Like two slight images of girls, unrobed upon a new-

<sup>539</sup> Mr. Subimal Sarkar—Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, pp. 5—15.

<sup>540</sup> Chips from a German Workshop I. p. 38.

<sup>541</sup> Journal of the German Oriental Society, XXII. p. 587 ff.

<sup>542</sup> Rigveda, IV. 24. 10. Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda, I. p. 427.

<sup>543</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 1. 5. Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda, II. p. 103.



wrought post, so shine thy Bay Steeds in their course"<sup>544</sup> **Caste system in relation to mobility of labour**—The question now presents itself as to the extent to which in the period of the Rigveda the caste system had been developed and stood as a barrier against the mobility of labour. The orthodox Hindu holds that the caste system is of divine appointment and that it had existed for all time. But the sacred books themselves when they are studied historically, supply evidence both of its origin and of its growth. We are told in the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata that "at first there was no caste." The distinction between the colour (varṇa) of the Aryan conquerors and that of the coloured aboriginal tribes first formed the basis of caste.<sup>545</sup> The question is thus narrowed down to the consideration of the arguments for and against the view that among the Aryans themselves caste divisions were appearing. Messrs. Muir,<sup>546</sup> Zimmer,<sup>547</sup> and Weber<sup>548</sup> have denied the existence of caste in any form in this period. Professor Max Muller says "If then with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste as we find in Manu and at the present day form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? we can answer with a decided 'no'."<sup>549</sup> Weber in his History of Sanskrit Literature also hold the same view and says "there are no castes as yet, the people are still one united whole, and bear but one name that of Viśas."<sup>550</sup> But Messrs. Geldner<sup>551</sup> and Oldenburg<sup>552</sup> hold the opposite view. It has been argued that the warriors of the community were the agricultural and industrial classes and the priesthood was not yet hereditary. Any person who distinguished himself for his genius or virtue or who for some reason was deemed specially receptive of divine inspiration could be a priest. Every Vedic householder was a priest unto himself so far at least as the

<sup>544</sup> Rigveda, IV. 32. 33. Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda, I. p. 437.

<sup>545</sup> Rigveda, I. 100. 18.

<sup>546</sup> Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. pp. 239 ff.

<sup>547</sup> Altindischen Leben, pp. 185—203.

<sup>548</sup> Indische Studien, Vol. X. pp. 1 ff.

<sup>549</sup> Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. II. p. 307.

<sup>550</sup> English Translation, p. 38.

<sup>551</sup> Vedische Studien, Vol. II. p. 146.

<sup>552</sup> Z. D. M. G., Vol. LI. pp. 267 ff.



performance of ordinary daily religious duties was concerned viz., the lighting up of the sacred Household Fire and the pouring of libations of *habis* into it thrice a day. It was only on special occasions when any *Sattra* or big religious sacrifice had to be performed that the services of experts were requisitioned and paid for. These experts, did not, however, form a separate caste by themselves in the sense in which we understand it today, with its exclusiveness and strict elaborate rules as regards eating, drinking and association by marriage etc. For, "the word *Brāhmaṇa*, the regular name for a 'man of the first caste'" says Professor Macdonell "is still rare in the *Rigveda*, occurring only eight times, while *Brahman*, which simply means sage or officiating priest is found forty-six times"<sup>553</sup> Indeed the growth of the caste system was the result of the complication of life due to the further penetration of the Aryans from the Punjab into the East. To resist the sudden incursion or to crush the attempts at rebellion of the aborigines, the petty tribal princes formed the nucleus of a standing armed force while the industrial and agricultural population relying on the protection of the warrior class abandoned the use of arms. Together with the growth in the size of kingdoms and the increasing complexity of civilisation, the simple ritual of an earlier period when the king himself can sacrifice for his people, grew to an extent which rendered this impracticable, while at the same time, the idea grew up that upon the faithful and exact performance of the rites depended the result of battle. The result was the growth of a priesthood, a warrior class and of a third the artisan and the cultivator sharply distinguished from one another and strictly hereditary. But the later origin of this development is proved by the fact that it took place not in the Punjab, the home of the *Rigveda* but in the Middle country whose geographical isolation favoured the evolution of this peculiar social system. A student of the *Rigveda* without knowledge of historical facts might reasonably presume that the Indus basin where the Aryans first settled in India would be the Holy land of Hinduism. The poets never tire of singing praises of the mighty Indus and its tributaries.<sup>554</sup> The combined testimony of the *jātakas* and the Greek

<sup>553</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 161—62.

<sup>554</sup> Cf. *Nadi-stuti* in *Rigveda*, X. 75.

authors proves that in the fourth century B. C. Taxila in the N. W. Punjab was still a centre of Vedic learning. But the strange fact is that orthodox Hindus regard the whole Punjab between the Indus and the Satlej as impure land unfit for the residence of strict votaries of Dharma. The reason apparently is that the N. W. territories continued to be overrun by successive swarms of foreigners from central Asia who disregarded the Brahmins with the result that the original inhabitants of the Punjab intermixed with these barbarian conquerors, imbibed their outlandish practices and did not follow the strict caste system.

While there is much truth in this view, it must be admitted that it exaggerated the freedom of the Rigveda from caste. For the term *Brāhmaṇa* 'son of a *Brahmā*' which occurs no less than eight times in the Rigveda seems to show that the priesthood was normally hereditary. We are told that there is a case of a king exercising the functions of a domestic priest and sacrificing himself for his people but the alleged case, that of Devapi rests only on the assertion of a commentator of a hymn<sup>555</sup> in which Devapi appears that he was originally a king. Even, however, if this was the case, it must be remembered that even after the complete establishment of the caste system it was still the privilege of kings to exercise some priestly functions such as that of the study of the nature of the Absolute, a practice ascribed to them in the Upaniṣads. The arguments regarding the warrior class rest on a misunderstanding. Even in the latest Vedic epoch, we have no ground to suppose that there was a special class which reserved its energies for war alone and that the industrial population and the agriculturists allowed the fate of their tribe to be decided by contests between warrior-bands but the Rigveda certainly knows of a ruling class, and the Vedic Kingship was normally hereditary, so that we may well believe that even then there existed, though perhaps in embryo, a class of nobles who are aptly named in the term of the *Puruṣasukta* hymn,<sup>556</sup> *Rājanyas*, as being 'men of kingly family'.

But this *Puruṣasukta* hymn though commonly supposed to be "the only passage in the Rigveda which enumerates the four castes" has nothing to

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<sup>555</sup> Rigveda, X. 98.

<sup>556</sup> Rigveda, X. 90.



do with caste. The hymn has for its subject a cosmogony, a theory of creation. It tells of the creation of all things from the sacrifice of a fabulous monster-man or Puruṣa, his severed limbs giving birth to the world. As pointed out by Mr. Andrew Lang<sup>557</sup> the same primitive mode of accounting for creation is found in the Norse legend, where the earth, the seas, water, mountains, clouds and firmament are formed by dividing up the body of Giant Ymir. So also in the Chaldean story, a monster-woman is divided in twain by Bel to form the heavens and earth. The same story runs through the myths of the Iroquois in North America as well as through those of Egypt and Greece. The Vedic story which runs close to those of other folk differs from them according to some scholars in this that it goes on to add that from Puruṣa also sprang the four classes of people. But Mr. V. A. Smith rightly observes "Both the Brahmin and fire come from Puruṣa's mouth, just as the servile man or Śūdra and earth both proceed from his feet. No suggestion of the existence of caste-groups is made. Mankind is simply and roughly classified under four heads according to occupation, the more honourable profession being naturally assigned to the more honourable symbolical origin. It is absurd to treat the symbolical language of the poem as a narrative of supposed facts."<sup>558</sup> "This is an attempt" says Mr. R. W. Frazer, "to force an antiquity for a social system by connecting it with an undeniably ancient legend."<sup>559</sup>

Thus though there were kings and sacrificial priests though there were warriors and the great body of the people, cultivators, artisans and dealers in merchandise, the people were not tied down to the rigidity of a caste system whence hereditary occupation was allotted to the members. Viśvāmitra who belonged to the rajanya class acted as a priest.<sup>560</sup> Poet-priests, on the other hand, prayed to the gods for the birth of sons who would be able to defeat their enemies in battles.<sup>561</sup> Indeed the poet-priest Mudgala did not hesitate to take up arms against robbers who had stolen

<sup>557</sup> Myth, Ritual and Religion, Vol. I. p. 243.

<sup>558</sup> Oxford History of India, p. 36.

<sup>559</sup> Literary History of India, p. 25.

<sup>560</sup> Rīgveda III. 53. 9.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid., V. 23. 12 ; VI. 31. 1.



his cows and his valiant wife drove the car for him and came to his rescue when the situation had become somewhat embarrassing for him.<sup>562</sup> The Rigveda also refers to Śūdra kings. One poet-priest tells us that his father was a physician while his mother ground grain between mill-stones.<sup>563</sup> The descendants of the poet-priest Bhṛgu were experts in fashioning chariots.<sup>564</sup> Gamblers are advised without any reference to their class to take to agriculture and pastoral pursuits,<sup>565</sup> proving thereby that in the economy of this period there was much mobility of labour. The existence of this freedom of movement from one occupation to another led to the dignity of labour. As Tvastr was the god who forged the thunderbolt for Indra, no odium was attached to the work of the smith who manufactured weapons for men. The worker in wood had clearly the place of honour and we find the priests themselves preparing sacrificial posts and altars.

**Labour and Occupations**—We have just seen that the Rigveda shows germs of a social division arising out of the adoption of different occupations by different sections of the community. The following verse describes some of the professions very beautifully :—

“Men’s tastes and trades are multifarious,  
And so their ends and aims are various.  
The smith seeks something cracked to mend,  
The leech would fain have sick to tend.  
The priest desires a devotee,  
From whom he may extract his fee.  
Each craftsman makes and vends his ware,  
And hopes the rich man’s gold to share.”<sup>566</sup>

Besides the priestly and ruling classes we find the following functional groups :—(1) Kināśa,<sup>567</sup> the ploughman (2) Dhanyakṛt,<sup>568</sup> the husker and

<sup>562</sup> Ibid., X. 102.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid., X. 31. 14.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 13.

<sup>566</sup> Rigveda IX. 112. 1—2.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid., IV. 57. 8.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., X. 94. 13.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 3.

winnower of corn (3) Gopā,<sup>569</sup> herdsman (4) Vāya,<sup>570</sup> the weaver of sundry piece goods corresponding to the modern Jolā in Bengal producing napkins, covers etc. (5) Vāso-vāya,<sup>571</sup> the weaver of the standard vāsas or wearing cloth corresponding to the modern tānti in Bengal (6) Dhmatr,<sup>572</sup> one who smelts (dhmā) the (metal) ore (with bellows of bird's feathers<sup>573</sup>) (7) Karmāra,<sup>574</sup> the smith (8) Takṣan<sup>575</sup> or tvastṛ<sup>576</sup> the carpenter (9) Rathakāra who made carts<sup>577</sup> and chariots (10) Carmamna<sup>578</sup> the tanner and leather-worker (11) potter who made earthen vessels of all sorts<sup>579</sup> (12) vaptā<sup>580</sup> the barber who is clearly mentioned as shaving beards (13) Bhiṣak,<sup>581</sup> the physician who treated patients for a fee. A poet-priest says "I will give to thee, O physician, a horse, a cow, a garment, yea, even myself."<sup>582</sup> The healing properties of herbs and plants were known to them from which they prepared medicines as is apparent from a hymn<sup>583</sup> devoted wholly to the praise of medicinal plants and the physicians who deal with them. The physicians restored the aged and decrepit Cyavana to youth and rendered him desirable to his wife and made him the husband of maidens.<sup>584</sup> Rijrāśva had his eyesight restored,<sup>585</sup> while Parāvṛj was cured of blindness and hameness.<sup>586</sup> Ghosā was cured of her skin-disease<sup>587</sup> while Viśpalā whose-leg was cutt off in a

<sup>569</sup> Ibid., I. 164. 21; II. 23. 6; III. 10. 2; V. 12. 4. etc.

<sup>570</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, s. v. Vāya.

<sup>571</sup> Rigveda, X. 26. 6.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid., V. 9. b; VII. 2. 4.

<sup>573</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 2.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 2; X. 72. 2.

<sup>575</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 1.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid., X. 119. 5.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid., X. 146. 3.

<sup>578</sup> Ibid., VIII. 5. 38.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid., VII. 104. 21; X. 89. 7.

<sup>580</sup> Ibid., X. 142. 4.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid., IX. 112. 1, 3.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid., X. 97. 4.

<sup>583</sup> Ibid., X. 97.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 10.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 16.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 8.

<sup>587</sup> Vedic Mythology, 21.



battle was given an iron one instead. (14) Vanij,<sup>588</sup> a merchant (15) Nṛtu, a dancing girl. It has been contended that the word nṛtu does not imply dancing girls as a professional class in the community; it might be that the unmarried girls or the ladies of the harem danced on special occasions as the Roman matrons danced and sang publicly on Floralia or Feast of Fool days and the females of the aristocratic families in Java and Vali still do. But the passage in question reads :

“Nṛturivāpornute bakṣa usreva vajraham”<sup>589</sup>

“Like a dancing girl she bares her bosom as a cow yields her udder (at the time of milching)” —such shameless dancing with bare breasts for attraction cannot be ascribed to decent and respectable women who always appeared before the public well—covered.<sup>590</sup>

Mr. Baden Powell in his *Indian Village Community* assumes that the Aryans had their lands cultivated by the conquered aborigenes; but the *Rigveda* unquestionably describes a society which is not dependent on such servile labour and in which cultivators, artisans and handicraftsmen are in no way regarded as inferior members of the community. We hear, no doubt, of slaves<sup>591</sup> and of gifts of slaves<sup>592</sup> but we have no evidence to show that they were largely employed or that slavery became the basis of husbandry. The ordinary tasks of life appears to have been carried out by the freemen of the tribe.

**Domestic Labour**—“Jāyēdastam”<sup>593</sup> (the wife is the home) exclaimed Viśwāmitra in his ecstatic vision of the true source of domestic felicity. Hence many of the household duties were entrusted to the ladies of the house. Philological evidence shows that it was the mātā (mother) who distributed the food, while the duhitā (daughter) used to milch the cow. We find women weaving,<sup>594</sup> drawing water from wells in Kumbhas<sup>595</sup> and preparing

<sup>588</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 112. 11; V. 45. 6.

<sup>589</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 92. 4.

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 17. 7; VIII. 26. 13.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 86. 7.

<sup>592</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 19. 13; VIII. Vākhilya Hymn No. 8. 3.

<sup>593</sup> *Rigveda* III. 53. 4.

<sup>594</sup> *Ibid.*, X. 71. 9; cf. II. 3. 6; II. 38. 4; V. 47. 6.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 191. 14.



the Soma drink.<sup>596</sup> We find them churning milk and curds and preparing butter out of them.<sup>597</sup> Husking, winnowing and many other similar duties were entrusted to women<sup>598</sup> though in the age of the Atharvaveda<sup>599</sup> slave-girls were employed for the purpose in the comparatively well-to-do families. The tending of cattle while at home was part of the house-wife's duties as would appear from the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda<sup>600</sup> where she is asked to be gentle to the cattle and to bring blessing to her husband's bipeds and quadrupeds.

**Domestic and Foreign Trade**—We have seen that Rigvedic society was sufficiently settled to admit of a prosperous agriculture and of a remarkable development in arts and crafts. "The Sindhu was rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever fresh, abounding in Silami plants (said to be used in cordage) and the auspicious river wears honey-growing flowers"<sup>601</sup> The trade in the products of agriculture and industry was carried on by the Vanij or Vānij denoting a merchant. In the Rigveda we find the use of the verb *kri*, to purchase<sup>602</sup> and of *śulka*, price.<sup>603</sup> We have also a passage<sup>604</sup> which suggests if not a contract for sale, at least haggling over prices: "A man has realised a small price for an article of great value, and again coming (to the buyer he says) this has not been sold; I require the full price; but he does not recover a small price by a large (equivalent): whether helpless or clever, they adhere to their bargain" According to this translation made by Wilson contracts seemed to have been made at the time of sale and purchase and the terms agreed upon could not be altered afterwards. Griffith translates the passage thus:

"He bid a small price for a thing of value; I  
was content, returning still purchased.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid., I. 28. 3; IX. 67. 8.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid., I. 28. 4.

<sup>598</sup> Upalaprakṣini in the Rigveda.

<sup>599</sup> XII. 3. 13.

<sup>600</sup> X. 85. 44.

<sup>601</sup> Rigveda, X. 75. 8.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid., IV. 24. 10.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 5.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid., IV. 24. 9.

He heightened not his insufficient offer, Simple  
and clever both milk out the udder"

and remarks "both the simple or needy buyer and the shrewd seller make as much as they can out of the bargain."<sup>605</sup> Thus prices seemed to have been settled finally only after much higgling and haggling.

For the conduct of this trade there were the roads and travellers' rest-houses even in this age. The recent excavations in Sind and the Punjab prove the existence of S. W. ports in the pre-Aryan India of the third millenium B. C. and the cross-country roads feeding them may have been much older than the Aryan settlement. We have already referred to the prayers in the Rigveda for protection on a journey offered to Puṣan who was the deity presiding over roads and paths.<sup>606</sup> Agni and the sages like the Roman pontifices are called pathi-kṛt, the path-makers.<sup>607</sup> Travelling seems to have been quite common even in those early times for we read "Two with one Dame ride on with winged steeds and journey forth like travellers on their way."<sup>608</sup> We also read of prapathas, rest-houses for travellers<sup>609</sup> and the epithet prapathin<sup>610</sup> given to a Yadava prince shows that princes of those times constructed rest-houses for the benefit of the travellers. The word setu occurs in the Rigveda<sup>611</sup> but its precise sense does not come out clearly. It has been held that a causeway of an ordinary type, merely a raised bank for crossing inundated land is meant, and that its use is probably metaphorical; but a metaphorical use of a term can hardly come into existence unless there has been previous simple use of it.

The articles of trade were carried from one part of the country to the other in waggons drawn by bullocks<sup>612</sup> and horses,<sup>613</sup> and probably also by

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<sup>605</sup> Griffith's Rigveda, Vol. I. p. 426 fn.

<sup>606</sup> Rigveda I. 42. 1; VI. 49. 8; VI. 51. 13; VI. 53. 1.

<sup>607</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, I. pp. 489—90.

<sup>608</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 29. 8.

<sup>609</sup> Ibid., X. 17. 4, 6; X. 63. 16.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 13.

<sup>611</sup> X. 41. 2.

<sup>612</sup> Rigveda II. 2. 1.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid., X. 101. 7.



buffaloes<sup>614</sup> and asses.<sup>615</sup> Camels<sup>616</sup> and dogs<sup>617</sup> were also used as beasts of burden. A poet-priest prays for the gift of one hundred asses<sup>618</sup> which were required not certainly to draw his chariots, for, he could not have possessed many, but simply to carry his burden. It may seem strange that the dog was used as a beast of burden, but the reference in the Rigveda is quite clear.<sup>619</sup> The caravans consisting of the merchants, their retainers and waggons and the above-mentioned beasts of burden moved on from place to place, selling the commodities they carried and purchasing such articles as would be wanted elsewhere. They were thus the forerunners of the svārtha-vāhas of the early Buddhist literature and the Jātakas.

Scholars are, however, divided in their opinion as to whether this trade was carried on across the seas to foreign lands. Macdonell, Ragozin and Hopkins hold that the Aryans of this age were unacquainted with the sea. Mr. Keith observes "The Vedic Indian seems to have been very little of a navigator."<sup>620</sup> Mr. Frazer remarks "It is doubtful if the early Aryans ever knew the ocean. The seas of water they mention may have referred to the wide-stretching Indus."<sup>621</sup> Mr. Macdonell also identifies the western Samudra with the Indus. But then what about the Pūrva or Eastern Samudra which also is mentioned. Further, the Rigveda speaks of the four Samudras.<sup>622</sup> We shall now adduce evidences from the Rigveda which in Bühler's opinion<sup>623</sup> "prove the early existence of the complete navigation of the Indian Ocean and of trading voyages by Indians." One hymn<sup>624</sup> represents Varuṇa having a full knowledge of the ocean-routes along which vessels sail. Another hymn<sup>625</sup> speaks of merchants who

<sup>614</sup> Ibid., X. 102. 7.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., I. 34. 9 ; I. 116. 2 ; I. 162. 2 ; VIII. 74. 7 ; cf. IV. 36. 1 ; I. 117. 16.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid., I. 138. 2.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid., VIII. 46. 28.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid., VIII. 56. 3.

<sup>619</sup> Sunesitam in Rigveda VIII. 46. 28.

<sup>620</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., p. 101.

<sup>621</sup> Literary History of India, p. 29.

<sup>622</sup> Rigveda, IX. 33. 6 ; X. 47. 2.

<sup>623</sup> Origin of the Brahmi Alphabet, p. 84.

<sup>624</sup> Rigveda, I. 25. 7.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid., I. 56. 2.



frequent every part of the sea in pursuit of gain. Another hymn<sup>626</sup> mentions merchants sending out ships to foreign countries under the influence of greed. Another hymn<sup>627</sup> refers to a prayer to the sea by people desirous of wealth, before undertaking a voyage.

Mr. Keith observes "The use of boats or probably dug-outs for crossing rivers was known but the simplicity of their construction is adequately shown by the fact that the paddle alone was used for their propulsion. There is no mention of rudder or anchor, mast or sails, a fact which incidentally negatives the theory that the Vedic Aryans took part in ocean-shipping."<sup>628</sup> But we can point out that the Rigveda has no prohibition against sea-voyages; on the contrary it has distinct allusions to them. All the Vedic ships were not simple in their construction as there is a reference to a ship with one hundred oars.<sup>629</sup> Some of them were furnished with "wings" i.e., sails.<sup>630</sup> Moreover, the people sailed on the seas, not only for trade but also for pleasure trips and warlike purposes. They must have resorted to coastal voyages only, though there is mention of a naval expedition<sup>631</sup> sent by Tugra under his son Bhujyu "in the ocean which giveth no support or hold or station."<sup>632</sup> There is also mention of islands situated in the midst of the sea<sup>633</sup> Vasiṣṭha thus describes his pleasure trip in Rigveda VII. 88. 3 :—

"When Varuṇa and I embark together and urge  
our boat into the midst of ocean,  
We, when we ride o'er ridges of the<sup>634</sup>,  
waters, will swing within that swing and there be happy."

Referring to these passages even Messrs. Macdonell and Keith<sup>635</sup> observe "It is not easy to refuse to recognise here the existence of longer vessels

<sup>626</sup> Ibid., I. 48. 3.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid., IV. 55. 6.

<sup>628</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 101.

<sup>629</sup> Rigveda, I. 116. 5.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid., X. 143. 5.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., I. 116. 3—5.

<sup>632</sup> Griffith's Rigveda I. p. 154.

<sup>633</sup> Rigveda I. 169. 3; X. 10. 1.

<sup>634</sup> Griffith's Rigveda II. p. 84.

<sup>635</sup> Vedic Index, I. p. 462.

with many oars and for sea-voyages." We further read "As merchants desirous of wealth surround the Sea, so do the priests surround Indra."<sup>636</sup> Here the use of the theme by way of a simile seems to show that sea-voyages by merchants were not a rare occurrence but fairly well-known to the public at large.

From the accounts of the earliest historiographers we learn that Navigation made its first efforts on the Mediterranean Sea and on the Perisan Gulf. These seas lay open the continents of Asia Europe and Africa and washing the shores of the most fertile and the most early civilised countries, seemed to have been destined by Nature to facilitate their communication with one another. We find accordingly that the first voyages of the Egyptians and the Phœnicians were made in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Their trade was however, not long confined to the countries bordering on these seas. By acquiring early possession of the ports of the Arabian Sea, they extended the sphere of their commerce and are represented to have opened up communications by sea with India. Dr. Day remarks in his History Commerce "The beginnings of these sea-voyages are lost in the obscurity of the past. We know that they were highly developed by 1500 B. C., when Sidon was the leading city and that they did not cease to extend when the primacy of Phœnician cities passed to Tyre."

It is a well-known fact that the Phœnician trade had three branches viz., Arabian-Indian, Egyptian and the Assyrio-Babylonian. We are here chiefly concerned with the first. According to some scholars the Pani of the Rigveda is Latin Pœni = Phœnicians, a trading people. They were a clan of Asuras whose chiefs Vitra and Vala were defeated in a fight with the Devas and were ousted from the north. They, therefore, finally settled in the Levant. Their new colony Pani-deśa, Latin Finidis = Phœnicia. The Phœnicians are described by the Classical writers of Europe as faithless, treacherous and deceitful—a description quite in unison with the Vedic account. Thus they are described in the Rigveda as "riteless and godless"<sup>637</sup> "traffickers,"<sup>638</sup> "extremely greedy like wolf,"<sup>639</sup> foolish,

<sup>636</sup> Rigveda, I. 56. 2.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid., I. 33. 3.

<sup>638</sup> Rigveda, I. 33. 5.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid., VI. 51. 14.



faithless, rude speaking niggards without belief, sacrifice or worship.<sup>640</sup> These Phœnician traders would come to India by the Red Sea route and also by the caravan route from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean coast of Syria. Several harbours of the Arabian Sea were seized by the Phœnicians from the Idumeans. But the distance of Tyre from these ports being very great they afterwards occupied the nearest Mediterranean port called Rhinocolura. Thither were taken overland all the articles to be reshipped to Tyre.<sup>641</sup> Dr. Royle<sup>642</sup> says "Long before the Persians had made themselves masters of Babylon (531 B. C.) the Phœnicians had established themselves for pearl-fishery and the Indian trade on the isles of Tylos and Aradus, the modern Bahrein islands in the Persian Gulf." The 27th chapter of the Ezekiel gives a list of the articles of Phœnician commerce brought from various countries. Among these "ivory and ebony could only have been procured in Dedan from India, for there were no elephants in Arabia."<sup>643</sup> According to Classical writers India was throughout famous for ivory and ebony.<sup>644</sup>

The fortunes of the Phœnicians soon roused in the neighbouring Jews a spirit of emulation. Under David and Solomon they were great friends of the Phœnicians under Hiram (980—917 B. C.) and this close friendship produced their combined commercial enterprise. This Jewish trade with India is proved by several allusions in the Bible itself. Thus we are told that Solomon founded a sea-port at Ezion-Geber in 992 B. C.<sup>645</sup> From Ezion-Geber the ships of Solomon sailed under the guidance of the mariners of Hiram for distant lands.<sup>646</sup> According to Professor Ball<sup>647</sup> some of the stones in the

<sup>640</sup> Ibid., VII. 6. 3. Cf. niggards in Rigveda, X. 60. 6.

<sup>641</sup> Robertson—Disquisition on Ancient India, 1792. pp. 7—8.

<sup>642</sup> Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine, p. 122.

<sup>643</sup> Historians' History of the World, Vol. II. pp. 336—37.

<sup>644</sup> Strabo XV. 37; Theophrastus quoted by McCrindle in his *India As Described By Classical Authors*, p. 460. Virgil, *Georgics* I. 57; "India Sends ivory" II. 116—17. Horace, *Odes*, "India alone produces black ebony, I. 31. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also mentions logs of ebony being exported from Berygaza (Schoff's translation, p. 36.)

<sup>645</sup> Book of Kings, IX. 26.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid., IX. 27.

<sup>647</sup> "A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India" in the *Indian Antiquary* for August, 1884.



breast-plate of the high-priest in the Mosaic period (1491 B. C.—1450 B. C.) may have come from the far East and India was famous for precious stones. In the days of Solomon (1015 B. C.) there could be supplied from India alone ivory, garments, armour, spices and peacocks. The evidence of Dravidian words<sup>648</sup> in the Hebrew text of the Book of the Kings and Chronicles of the Old Testament shows that Indians, specially those of the South carried on their commercial relations with the Hebrew people and the words concerned formed the chief articles of trade between them. Thus the Hebrew word for peacock in the Book of kings in Tuki and in Chronicles also is Tuki, while the old poetic Tamil Malayalam word for peacock is Tokei.<sup>649</sup> Again Hebrew ahalim or apaloth which means fragrant wood and is otherwise known as aloes in the Proverbs<sup>650</sup> is derived from the Tamil Malayalam form of the word aghil. Similarly, almug=Tamil Valgu.<sup>651</sup> From these evidences we find that Rev. T. Foulkes is right when he says "The fact is now scarcely to be doubted that the rich oriental merchandise of the days of king Hiram and king Solomon had its starting place in the sea ports of the Deccan."<sup>652</sup> Dr. Caldwell has come to the same conclusion and says "It seems probable that Aryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phoenicians and Solomon's servants in their voyages down the Malabar coast towards Ophir (wherever Ophir may have been) or at least have taken part in the trade."<sup>653</sup> The Jewish trade with India lasted a little over a century, for, when the fleet of Jehoshaphat, fifth in descent from Solomon which had started on a voyage to Tarshis, was destroyed, the Jewish commercial spirit cooled down.

We have seen how commerce between Egypt and India began from a very remote antiquity. "The labours of Von Bohlén,<sup>654</sup> confirming those of Heeren and in their turn confirmed by those of Lassen<sup>655</sup> have estab-

<sup>648</sup> Caldwell—A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

<sup>649</sup> The Bavari Jātaka also refers to peacocks as Indian exports to Babylon.

<sup>650</sup> VII. 17.

<sup>651</sup> Cf. Hebrew koph, meaning ape. = Sanskrit kapi.

<sup>652</sup> Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII.

<sup>653</sup> Caldwell—A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 122.

<sup>654</sup> Das Alte Indien Vol. I. p. 42.

<sup>655</sup> Ind. Alt., Vol. II. p. 580.

lished the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of humanity."<sup>656</sup> Professor Max Duncker<sup>657</sup> says "Trade existed between the Indians and the Sabœns on the coast of South Arabia before the tenth century B. C." The bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes in Egypt which represents the conquest of the land of Pun under Hatasu contain a picture in which is described the booty which the Pharoah is carrying to Egypt. And in this booty, according to Leormant, "appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to Yemen — elephant's teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal-wood and monkeys."<sup>658</sup>

But the question of the navigation of the Persian Gulf is still shrouded in mystery as well as that of the Alpha and Omega of all early communications between India and the land of Sumer and Akkad. It is inconceivable that the earliest civilisation of Chaldœ had not engaged in navigation on the "sea of the East." Though no direct evidences regarding this is forthcoming, still we may point out that the great prosperity of Elam and its sturdy resistance first to Chaldœ and then to Assyria may be partly explained by the wealth she acquired in trade with the countries on its eastern frontier ; for, we know that she had a fleet manned with Phœnician crew at the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Dr. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures for 1887 on the origin and growth of religion among the Babylonians have proved the existence of commerce between India and Babylon as early as 3000 B. C. Rassam has discovered Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus and he is supported by Hewitt who says that this wood must have been sent by sea from some port on the Malabar coast, for, it is only there that teak grew near enough to the sea, to be exported with profit in those early days<sup>659</sup> Dr. Sayce points to the use of the word Sindhu for muslin in an old Babylonian list

<sup>656</sup> Hist. Anc. del Orient, Eng. edition, II. pp. 299—301, Quoted in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII. p. 228.

<sup>657</sup> History of Antiquity, Vol. IV. p. 156.

<sup>658</sup> Hist. Anc. del Orient, Eng. edition, II. p. 299.

<sup>659</sup> L. R. A. S., 1888, p. 337.



of clothes as the clearest proof "that there was trade between the Babylonians and the people who spoke an Aryan dialect and lived in the country watered by the Indus." And if in the Persian time in the fuller light of history the Aramic script wandered to India, such an event may equally have happened in an earlier millenia. The earliest Indian weights and measures<sup>660</sup> may be traced to Babylonian origin. Further, the division of the sky into twenty-four Nakṣatras and the naming of seven days in the week after the Sun, Moon and five other planets may be traced to Babylonian origin. But as these are mentioned in later astronomical works, they are thought to be borrowed directly from Alexandria.<sup>661</sup> Mr. S. Kṛṣṇa Swāmi Iyenger, however, supports the Babylonian origin.<sup>662</sup> The discovery of the records of the settlement of some branches of the Aryan race in Syria and Sumer worshipping some of the oldest gods of the Vedic pantheon,<sup>663</sup> the recurrence of the Babylonian legend of the Flood among the Indians — all point to the existence of an intercourse between India and the land of Sumer and Akkad.<sup>664</sup>

This foreign trade could be carried along the three routes suggested by M. D. Anville. The first climbs up the precipitous and zigzag passes of the Zagros range which the Greeks called the Ladders into the treeless regions of Persia. The second traverses the mountains of Armenia to the Caspian Sea and Oxus and descends into Indus by the passes of the Hindukush. Lastly, there is the sea. Of these, the overland routes were not impracticable; in fact, the desert steppes of Asia formed the merchantile ocean of the ancients — the companies of camels their fleet. But the commerce was from hand to hand, from tribe to tribe, fitful and uncertain and never possessed any importance. Similarly, the normal trade-route from the Persian Gulf to India could never have been along the inhospitable

<sup>660</sup> Mānā hiranya of Rigveda VIII. 72. 8.

<sup>661</sup> Rawlinson—India and the Western World, p. 15.

<sup>662</sup> Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 327, 329.

<sup>663</sup> Vide the accounts of the Mitanni and of the Kassites in Hall's Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 201—30.

<sup>664</sup> Recall in this connection the affinity between the Indus civilisation and the civilisation of the Valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates brought to light by the recent excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa.



deserts of Gedrosia. Doubtless then more than one adventurous vessel reached India by hugging the shores. But the exploring expeditions despatched in later times by Darius (512 B. C.) from the mouth of the Indus under Skylax of Karayandra and two centuries later by Alexander the Great under Nearchos show the difficulties and dangers of this route, the time it occupied and the ignorance of the pilots. The author of the *Periplus*, it is true, says that small ships made formerly voyages to India, coasting along the shores until Hippalus first ventured to cross the Ocean by observing the monsoon.<sup>665</sup> But we know from other sources that the monsoon was known from the earliest times to all who sailed along the Arabian and African coasts; and direct sea-voyages were attempted only at the commencement of the monsoon.<sup>666</sup> The route for the direct sea-trade ran down the Persian and Arabian coasts to Aden, up the Red Sea to Suez, and from Suez to Egypt on the one hand and Tyre and Sidon on the other. Balkh, Aden and Palmyra were the chief halting stations and emporia of this trade.

Now was there any *combination between merchants* in this period? The Vedic expression *pani*<sup>667</sup> has been differently interpreted by different scholars.<sup>668</sup> The St. Petersburg Dictionary derives it from *pan*, to barter and explains it as merchant. Zimmer<sup>669</sup> and Ludwig<sup>670</sup> also takes it in the sense of a merchant. Now the gods are asked to attack the *panis* who are referred to as being defeated with slaughter.<sup>671</sup> Ludwig thinks that these references to fights with *Panis* are to be explained by their having been non-Aryan traders who went in caravans as in Arabia and North Africa, prepared to fight, if need be, to protect their goods against attacks which the Aryans would naturally deem quite justified. If we accept this

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<sup>665</sup> The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Schoff's Eng. Trans.) p. 45.

<sup>666</sup> Monsoon - Arabic *Mauzim*.

<sup>667</sup> *Rigveda* I. 32. 11; I. 83. 4; I. 93. 4; I. 151. 9; II. 24. 6; IV. 58. 4; VI. 13. 3; VI. 20. 4; VI. 33. 2; VI. 39. 2; VI. 44. 22; VI. 45. 31; VI. 51. 14; VII. 9. 2; IX. 111. 2; X. 108. 2; X. 108. 4; X. 108. 6; X. 108. 10; X. 108. 11.

<sup>668</sup> Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, I. p. 471.

<sup>669</sup> *Alt Leben*, p. 257.

<sup>670</sup> *Der Rig Veda*, III. 213—15.

<sup>671</sup> Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, I. 471.

meaning, we presume a corporation of merchants strong enough to defy their opponents and carry on fight against them.

Again in the Rigveda<sup>672</sup> the army of the Maruts is said to be divided into Gaṇas and Vrātas, the two words always meaning guilds or corporate unions in later Sanskrit. Further, in connection with dice-play we hear of leaders of Gaṇas and Vrātas.<sup>673</sup> But our information about these corporate unions is so scanty that we know nothing about their nature, organisation and methods of work.

**Methods and media of Exchange**—The great volume of trade would necessarily presuppose the existence of an excellent system of exchange. But the general view held was that "in the Vedic Age all exchange was by barter."<sup>674</sup> But we have seen that by the time of the Rigveda the cow formed a standard or unit of value. Thus there is a hymn<sup>675</sup> where Indra, that is, his image is offered as a fetish for ten cows and another<sup>676</sup> where Indra is considered to be so valuable that not a hundred, a thousand or even a myriad of cows is thought to be a proper price. Besides cattle as a standard of exchange we find references to Niṣka, a word which in later Sanskrit means a gold coin. In one hymn<sup>677</sup> a poet-priest praises the munificence of his patron-king for giving him as reward for his priestly services a hundred steeds and a hundred niṣkas. Now what does the word niṣka mean here? No doubt we have passages in the Rigveda which certainly point to the use of niṣka as an ornament. Thus in one passage<sup>678</sup> we are told of sacrificers wearing niṣkas on their necks (niṣkagrīva). In another<sup>679</sup> the god Rūdra is described as wearing niṣkas. In another<sup>680</sup> goddess Uṣas is invoked to take away the evils of bad dreams from those who wear niṣkas. But in Rigveda I. 126. 2 where the poet-priest mentions a gift of 100 niṣkas, the meaning necklace would hardly be appropriate; for, a man cannot require a hundred necklaces to adorn himself. In regard

<sup>672</sup> V. 53. 1.

<sup>674</sup> Mrs. Rhys Davids in J. R. E. S., 1910.

<sup>675</sup> Rigveda IV. 24. 10.

<sup>677</sup> Ibid., I. 126. 2.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid., II. 33. 10.

<sup>676</sup> Rigveda, X. 34.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 5.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid., V. 19. 3.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid., VIII. 47. 15.



to this passage the authors of the Vedic Index<sup>681</sup> rightly observes "As early as the Rigveda traces are to be seen of niṣkas as a sort of currency. For a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred niṣkas and a hundred steeds. He could hardly require the niṣkas merely for personal adornment."

But was the niṣka a coin? This may be solved, as has been pointed out by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar by reference to hymn No. 33 of the second Maṇḍala of the Rigveda. Here the god Rūdra is described as wearing "niṣkam viśwarūpam." Now what can viśwarūpa mean? Does it signify omniform? If so, what is meant by saying that Rūdra's necklace was omniform. Before we try to arrive at a natural and plausible meaning of the term we must consider how the word niṣka could come to signify both a currency and a necklace. A little reflection tells us that this is possible only if we suppose that niṣka means not simply a currency but a coin, that niṣka denoted necklace because it consisted of niṣkas, the coins. In many parts of India people even to-day wear necklaces of gold mohars. In Maharashtra people even to-day get a goldsmith to cast gold coins in imitation of certain Byzantine originals which they call Putalyā which are afterwards strung into a necklace called Putalyā. This custom of making necklaces out of coins is not of modern origin but was also prevalent in Ancient India. Thus the Kalpasūtra while describing the goddess Śrī whom Trisāla, the mother of Mahāvira saw in her dream, speaks of the former as bearing uratthadināra-mālya i.e., a string of dināras (the Roman denarius) on her breast. Niṣka must, therefore, been taken in the sense of a coin and not merely a metallic currency. If this explanation is accepted, then a good sense of the term viśwarūpa is possible to fix upon. The rūpa in viśwarūpa can at once be recognised to be a word technical to the old Indian Science of Numismatics and denoting the symbol or figure on a coin which for that reason is called rūpa. Thus the necklace worn by Rūdra was composed of niṣka coins; and just because these niṣka coins bore various rūpas or figures on them, the necklace was naturally viśwarūpa. The earliest of coins found in India are the punch-marked



coins and we know that no less than three hundred different devices or rūpas have been marked on them.

Manā was the name of another metallic money. It occurs in the following verse<sup>682</sup> "O Indra, bring us jewels, cattle, horses and manās of gold." The word manā is derived from the root man, to measure or man, to prize or value and therefore may well have been a metallic money of some fixed and recognised weight or value. This probably reached the valley of the Euphrates through the Phoenician traders where it became the Akkadian minā.

Unstamped metallic money of another kind was also known in this period. In one hymn<sup>683</sup> we find mention of a gift of daśa hiranya-piṇḍa. As these hiranya-piṇḍas have been specifically mentioned as ten, it appears that each hiranya-piṇḍa conformed to a definite recognised weight or value. We need not be surprised at the existence of both stamped and unstamped money circulating in one and the same period. Even to this day the Dhābuas which are unstamped copper money circulate freely in the Nepalese Terai along with stamped coins of various denominations.

The existence of a metallic medium of exchange in general acceptance may be proved by other evidences. Thus in one hymn<sup>684</sup> we read of a gift of 10,000 pieces; another hymn<sup>685</sup> mentions the gift of 100 pieces; another hymn<sup>686</sup> refers to the gift of a hundred and a thousand pieces. These gifts of so many pieces do undoubtedly refer to some definite standard in general acceptance, since without such a standard in general acceptance, we can hardly expect the mention of mere numbers without any further specification. Professor Wilson, therefore, in his note on Rigveda V. 27. 2 rightly observes "It is not improbable, however, that pieces of money are intended; for, if we may trust Arrian, the Hindus had coined money before Alexander."

The general economic condition of the classes and the masses—In a system of private ownership of land and capital economic inequalities are

<sup>682</sup> Rigveda, VIII. 78. 2.

<sup>683</sup> Rigveda, VI. 47. 23.

<sup>684</sup> Ibid., V. 27. 2.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid., V. 27. 1.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid., VIII. 3. 46—7.

bound to exist and Rigvedic society was no exception to this general rule. The tendency towards the accumulation of capital in a few hands was helped partly by the development of domestic and foreign trade and partly by the existence of freedom of disposal of property specially for satisfying debts to creditors as the evidence of Rigveda X. 34 shows. The Rigveda mentions the Mahākulas<sup>687</sup> and the Maghavadans<sup>688</sup> who were distinguished for their wealth and liberality. The princes and kings who stood on a higher level than the Mahākulas and the Māghavadans are represented as more wealthy and liberal. Thus Svanaya, son of Bhāva gave Kāksivān a hundred nīskas, one thousand cows, ten chariots, with mares to draw them and sixty thousand cattle.<sup>689</sup> The Rusamas gave away four thousand cattle.<sup>690</sup> Prastoka (otherwise known as Divodāsa or Atithigva) gave away ten coffers, ten mettled horses, ten treasure-chests, ten garments, ten hiranyapīṇḍas, ten chariots with extra steed to each and one hundred cows.<sup>691</sup> Sudas, descendant of Pijavana gave away two hundred cows, two chariots with mares to draw them and four trained horses with pearl to deck them.<sup>692</sup> Āsanga gave ten thousand pieces together with ten bright-hued oxen.<sup>693</sup> Āsanga's son Svanadratha gave away two brown steeds together with their cloths of gold.<sup>694</sup> Vibhindu gave Medhyatithi forty-eight thousand pieces.<sup>695</sup> Pākasthāman Kaurayān gave away a ruddy horse.<sup>696</sup> Prince Kurunga gave away one hundred steeds and sixty-thousand cows.<sup>697</sup> Kasu, son of Chedi gave away one hundred buffaloes and ten thousand cattle.<sup>698</sup> Tirindira, son of Parsu, gave away one lac cows.<sup>699</sup> The Yādavas gave to Pajra ten thousand cattle and steeds three times a hundred.<sup>700</sup> Trasadasya made a gift of fifty female slaves.<sup>701</sup>

<sup>687</sup> Rigveda, I. 31. 12 ; II. 6. 4 ; V. 39. 4.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid., I. 55. 4 ; V. 79. 4 ; VIII. 7. 21 ; VIII. Vālakhilya hymn No. 9. 3 ; X. 107. 4.

<sup>689</sup> Ibid., I. 126. 2—3.

<sup>690</sup> Rigveda, V. 30. 15.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid., VII. 18. 22—3.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 32.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid., VIII. 3. 22—3.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid., VIII. 5. 37.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 47.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid., VI. 47. 22.

<sup>697</sup> Ibid., VIII. 1. 33.

<sup>698</sup> Ibid., VIII. 2. 41.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid., VIII. 4. 19—20.

<sup>700</sup> Ibid., VIII. 6. 46.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid., VIII. 19. 36.

King Chitra "like Parjanya with his rain hath spread himself with thousand, yea, myriad gifts."<sup>702</sup> Prithusravas, son of Kanita, gave away sixty thousand steeds, ten thousand cattle and two thousand camels<sup>703</sup> besides a chatiot wrought of gold.<sup>704</sup> Even Br̥bu, the Paṇi chief is described as the giver of a thousand liberal gifts.<sup>705</sup> The munificence of the rich patrons may be appreciated from the famous hymn on Dakṣiṇā which praises in glowing terms the givers of horses, cattle, clothes and gold.<sup>706</sup>

Side by side with these richer classes we find peoples in debt which was contracted for various purposes, gambling being one of them.<sup>707</sup> The Paṇis are described as "usurers who counted the days for calculating interest."<sup>708</sup> Debtors like other male factors were sometimes bound by their creditors to posts<sup>709</sup> presumably as a means of putting pressure on them to pay up the debt. Everything was exacted, even the dwelling houses were sold and the debtors became homeless and destitute.<sup>710</sup> Sometimes they were reduced to slavery and their relations renounced them.<sup>711</sup> The amount of interest payable is impossible to make out. In one passage<sup>712</sup> an eighth (Śapha) and a sixteenth (Kalā) are mentioned as paid, but it is quite uncertain whether interest or an instalment of the principal is meant. Some were born in debt and were under a moral and legal obligation to pay off the debt of their ancestors as the following passage<sup>713</sup> will prove : "Discharge, O Varuṇa, the debts (contracted) by my progenitors and those now (contracted) by me ; and may I not, royal Varuṇa be dependent (on the debts contracted) by another. Many are the mornings that have, as it there, not dawned ; make us, Varuṇa, alive in them." Mr. Wilson observes "According to Sāyana, this means that persons, involved in debt are so overcome with anxiety that they are not conscious of the dawn of the day ; to them the morning has not dawned ; they are dead to the light of day. The passage is deserving of notice, indicating an advanced as well

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., VIII. 21. 18.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid., VIII. 46. 22.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid., VI. 45. 33.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 10.

<sup>706</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 4.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 4.

<sup>708</sup> Ibid., II. 23. 9.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid., VIII. 46. 24.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid., X. 107.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid., VIII. 66. 10.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid., X. 34. 10.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid., VIII. 47. 17.



as a corrupt state of society, the occurrence of debt, and severity of its pressure."

Economic pressure, however, became severest, when crops failed ; and it is worthy of note that despite the care for irrigation, famines were not unknown. Sasarpārī is said to have dispelled famine.<sup>714</sup> Fervent prayers were offered to drive away famine from the country :—

"Drive far from us poverty and famine,  
(O sacrificial post)"<sup>715</sup>

"Receive from us the arrow, keep famine,  
O Ādityas, far away"<sup>716</sup>

"O Much-invoked Indra, may we subdue all famine  
and evil want with store of grain and cattle."<sup>717</sup>

Indeed we read of "the needy who come in begging for bread to eat"<sup>718</sup> "of the begger who comes in want of food"<sup>719</sup> and "of the friend and comrade who comes imploring food."<sup>720</sup> Hence great emphasis was laid on the virtues of hospitality<sup>721</sup> and liberality,<sup>722</sup> and the niggardly misers were cried down.<sup>723</sup> Society expected the rich man to alleviate the distress of the needy as he himself may need the same assistance one day :

"Let the rich satisfy the poor implorer, and  
bend his eye upon a longer journey.  
Riches come now to one, now to another,  
and like the wheels of cars are ever rolling."<sup>724</sup>

<sup>714</sup> Ibid., III. 53. 15.  
<sup>715</sup> Ibid., VIII. 18. 11.  
<sup>716</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 3.  
<sup>717</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 5.  
<sup>718</sup> Ibid., X. 107.  
<sup>719</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 5.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid., III. 8. 2.  
<sup>717</sup> Ibid., X. 42. 10.  
<sup>719</sup> Ibid., X. 117. 4.  
<sup>721</sup> Ibid., X. 117.  
<sup>723</sup> Ibid., IX. 63. 5.

## CHAPTER V.

### Brahmana Period.

(— 600 B. C.)

Definitely later than that depicted in the Rigveda is the civilisation presented by the later Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. The story of the Rāmīyaṇa may have its origin in the later Brāhmaṇa period<sup>725</sup> and the epic was composed according to Professor Macdonell<sup>726</sup> before 500 B. C. In the period of the Rigveda, the centre of civilisation was tending to be localised in the land between the Saraswatī and the Dṣalbatī rivers; but in the Brāhmaṇa period, as the period under review may conveniently be called, the localisation of civilisation in the more eastern part of the country is achieved. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa a geographical passage ascribes the Middle Country to the later Madhya-deśa, the Kurus and Pāncāls with the Vasas and Usīnaras, to the south the Satvats and to the north beyond the Hīmalayas, the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras. On the other hand, while the west recedes in importance, the regions, east of the Kuru-Pāncāl country come into prominence, specially Kośala, corresponding roughly to modern Oudh, and Videha, the modern Tirhut or N. Bihar and Magalha, the modern South Bihar. In the south we hear of non-Aryan tribes like the Andhras, Pulindas, Pundras, Mutibas, Sabaras and the Naiṣadas.

*Towns*—In keeping with this wider geographical outlook, the Brāhmaṇa period is marked by a greater knowledge of towns. The White Yajur Veda<sup>727</sup> refers to Kimpila which the commentator takes to be Kimpilya, the Pāncāla capital. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we come across the names of two cities, namely, Āsandhivat,<sup>728</sup> probably the capital

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<sup>725</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., p. 317.

<sup>726</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 309.

<sup>727</sup> XXIII. 18.

<sup>728</sup> S. B. E. Vol. XLIV. p. 396.



of King Janmejaya and Parivakra,<sup>729</sup> the capital of the Panchāla Kings. The word nagara meaning a town frequently occurs in Brāhmaṇa literature as also the epithet nagarin. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa describes Janaśruteya as a nagarin. We also find epithets like Kauśamveya, Kauśalya and Vaidarva, derived from place-names which gradually grew into towns.

*Land-system*—The land was divided as in the previous period, into vāstu, arable land, pastures and forests. The vāstu as before was in private ownership. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>730</sup> houses are cited as instances of private wealth. The arable land was also in private ownership. In the Black Yajur Veda<sup>731</sup> we read "He should make an offering to Indra and Agni on eleven postherds who has a dispute about a field or with his neighbours." "It is" says from Prof. Keith "a clear evidence of separate ownership of land."<sup>732</sup> In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>733</sup> we find fields along with houses cited as instances of private wealth. The pastures and the forests were enjoyed in common. Though this Right of Common or Estover was later on much circumscribed by the establishment of a highly centralised government, such as, under Chandragupta Maurya, the Brahmins or the learned nevertheless exercised the right of collecting fuel and other materials for religious purposes throughout ages. The Varana Jātaka,<sup>734</sup> for example, tells us that five hundred pupils of a teacher of Takṣaśilā set out for the forest to gather firewood for their teacher and busied themselves in gathering sticks. The Agni Purāṇa<sup>735</sup> lays down that a Brahmin exercises everywhere the right of collecting grass, fuel and flowers. Yājñabalkya<sup>736</sup> is also of the view. It is well-known that the Āraṇyaka part of the Vedic literature was required to be read in the forests.

With the evidences at our disposal, it is difficult to decide whether the land belonged to the head of the family or to the members of joint families in common. The story told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of Viśwāmitra

<sup>729</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>730</sup> VII. 24. 2.

<sup>731</sup> II. 2. 1.

<sup>732</sup> Keith—Veda of Black Yajus School, p. 147. fn. 1. Compare Vedic Index, I. 210, 211.

<sup>733</sup> VII. 21. 2 (Kṣetrāṇi āyatanāni).

<sup>734</sup> No. 71.

<sup>735</sup> Chapter CCLVII, 17.

<sup>736</sup> II. 169.



who outcasted and expelled his fifty sons as also of the sale of Śunahśepha by his father Ajigarta in lieu of one hundred cows prove the autocratic authority of the head of the family. It is, however, doubtful as to whether these are instances which give us the real state of affairs or were arbitrary exercises of authority. Indeed we have evidences to prove the joint ownership of property. Not only do we find repeated mention of Sajāta and Samāna, meaning clansmen or men of the same family but in one hymn<sup>737</sup> we find prayers to the gods for unity of the family :—

“Freedom from hate I bring to you, concord  
and unanimity.

Love one another as the cow loveth the  
calf that she hath borne.

One-minded with his mother let the son  
be loyal to his sire.

Let the wife, calm and gentle, speak  
words sweet as honey to her lord.

No brother hate his brother, no sister to  
sister be unkind.

Unanimous, with out intent, speak ye  
your speech in friendliness.

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Let what you drink, your share of food  
be common : together with one common bond I bid you.  
Serve Agni, gathered round him like spokes  
about the chariot nave.

In the Black Yajur Veda<sup>738</sup> we read “The fore-sacrifices are the father, the after-sacrifices the son in that having offered the fore-sacrifices he sprinkles the oblations, the father makes common property with the son.” Mr. Keith<sup>739</sup> observes “The commentator takes this as referring to the fact that the son’s earnings are his own, the father shares them with the family,

<sup>737</sup> Atharva-veda, III. 30.

<sup>738</sup> II. 6. 1.

<sup>739</sup> Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 206, fn. 2.

and this seems correct. Sāyana also notes that the son keeps his secretly i.e., perhaps his ownership was *precario*, not of right; the parallel to Roman law is striking and justifies us in accepting the view of the commentator." Elsewhere in the Black Yajur Veda<sup>740</sup> we read "Manu divided his property among his sons. He deprived Nābhinediṣṭha, who was a student, of any portion. He went to him, and said, 'How hast thou deprived me of a portion?' He replied, 'I have not deprived you of a portion; the Aṅgirasas here are performing a Sattrā; they cannot discern the world of heaven; declare this Brāhmaṇa to them; when they go to the world of heaven they will give thee their cattle.' He told them it, and they when going to the world of heaven gave him their cattle. Rudra approached him as he went about with his cattle in the place of sacrifice, and said 'These are my cattle.' He replied 'They have given them to me.' 'They have not the power to do that' replied he, 'whatever is left on the place of sacrifice is mine.' Then one should not resort to a place of sacrifice. He said 'Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I will not have designs against your cattle.' He poured out for him the remnants of the mixed (Soma). Then indeed had Rudra no designs against his cattle."<sup>741</sup> This story which also occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>742</sup> shows undoubtedly that even during the life-time of the father, sons were regarded as having a vested interest in property, from which they could not be excluded at will. In the mythology of the Brāhmaṇa period we find that the children of the Father God viz., gods and devils fight for their respective shares and "enter into their inheritance" by dividing it. In another mythology we find a man who has no son, dividing his property between his two wives. We find the gift of a field; of whole villages; of all the king's lands to a priest; and when thus given, the land cannot be alienated. If the king should at another time, give all his land to another, that piece which he has formerly given to the first priest, is not included in the later donation.

<sup>740</sup> III. 1.9.

<sup>741</sup> Compare M.S. I. 5. 8, and for the substance see Vedic Index, I. 352. For Manu cf. Lévi, *Ladocrine du sacrifice*, pp. 115 seq.; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 138.

<sup>742</sup> V. 14.

But though the gift of lands specially to Brahmins who officiated in sacrifices<sup>743</sup> was quite common there was a decided feeling against land-transfer in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>744</sup> From another passage of the same book<sup>745</sup> we learn that Kṣatriya clansmen apportioned land given to them by a (Kṣatriya) king with the mutual consent of all. Later on when we come to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>746</sup> we find that houses and fields were regarded as objects of private ownership and easily transferable.

It is difficult to decide as to whether the king was regarded as the owner of the land in this period. We are told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>747</sup> that a priest's function is to take gifts, while the Vaiśya's peculiar function is to be devoured by the priest and nobleman. From this it is apparent that the Vaiśya cannot have any secure hold over his landed property. In one of the Upaniṣads it is said that the vital breath commands the other breaths just as a Samrāj commissions his officers saying, 'Be thou over these villages or those villages.' The statement of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>748</sup> namely, that every one here is fit to be eaten up by the king except the Brahmin, is not of much significance, since it only embodies in a nutshell the view that the royal contributions from the subjects which were at first probably fitful in their character, had by this time become a general burden devolving upon nearly all classes of people. Of greater importance is the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, referred to above, declaring the Vaiśya from the point of view of the kṣatriya 'to be tributary to another, to be lived on by another, to be oppressed at will.' These striking phrases together with the epithet frequently applied in the Brāhmaṇas to the king, namely that he is the devourer of his people doubtless signify that the king's claim of taxing his subjects was limited only by his sweet free will, but there is nothing in them to indicate the king's ownership of the soil as distinct from his political superiority.<sup>749</sup> Indeed it is clearly stated in

<sup>743</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 6. 2. 8; XIII. 7. 1. 13 and 15.

<sup>744</sup> XIII.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid., VII. 1. 1. 4.

<sup>746</sup> VII. 24. 2.

<sup>747</sup> VII. 29, with Keith's translation in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 128.

<sup>748</sup> VI. 3. 3. 12; Ibid., 4. 2. 3.

<sup>749</sup> Compare Vedic Index, S.V. Rājan, rejecting the view of Hopkins, *Op. cit.*, p. 222.



the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>750</sup> that to whomsoever the kṣatriya with the approval of the people or clan (viś) grants a settlement, that is properly given. This evidently refers to the public land of the folk and it seems to mean that while the king's gift of such land with the consent of the people was in accordance with the tribal or customary law, it was sometimes arbitrarily disposed of by the sole authority of the ruler. It is possible that originally in the Rigvedic period the king could deal with the public land only with the sanction of the tribal assembly, but afterwards during the times of the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas the advance of the king's power had resulted in such land being looked upon as lying to some extent at the disposal of the Crown. The natural consequence of such development would be eventually to reduce the public lands to the condition of the king's private estates. But this step which seems to have been completed by the time of the Arthaśāstra was not reached in the period of the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>751</sup> Indeed the prayer in the Atharvaveda<sup>752</sup> for the grant of a share in villages to the king shows that the people granted him some land for the maintenance of his authority and dignity : there could have been hardly any room for this prayer if he was already the master of the soil. Professor Keith rightly observes "There can be no doubt that he (the king) controlled the land of the tribe. It is not, however, necessary to ascribe to this period the conception of the royal ownership of all the land, though it appears in the Greek source from the time of Megasthenes downwards and is evidenced later by law-books of the time. He had, it is true, the right to expel a Brahmin and a Vaiśya at will, though we do not know expressly that he could do this in the case of a Kṣatriya. But these considerations point to political superiority rather than to ownership proper and we may assume that when

<sup>750</sup> VIII. 1. 73, 4.

<sup>751</sup> According to the Vedic Index, s. v. Grāma, the king's right to apportion the land with the consent of the clan (as mentioned *eg.*, in the text of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quoted above) contains the germ of the later State ownership of the soil. It is difficult to support this view, since the king's right of apportionment just mentioned is apparently concerned with the disposal of the public land as distinguished from the land held in private ownership by the freemen.

<sup>752</sup> IV. 22. 2.

he gave grants of land to his retainers, he granted not ownership but privileges such as the right to receive dues and maintenance from the cultivators. There is a clear distinction between this action and the conferring of ownership, and it may be doubted if the actual gift of land was approved in this epoch. The only case of which we hear is one reported in the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas in which the King Viśwakarman Bhauvana gave land to the priests who sacrificed for him but the earth itself rebuked his action. It is more probable that at this time, the allotment of land was determined by the king or by the noble to whom he had granted the rights of superiority according to customary law and that gifts not in accordance with this customary law were disapproved. It is hardly necessary to point out the close similarity between such a state of affairs and that existing at the present day in parts of West Africa, where kings have introduced for purposes of personal gain the practice of dealing as absolute owners with lands which according to the strict custom of tribal law they have no power to allocate save in accordance with the custom of the tribe. Nor is it inconsistent with the view that the king had an arbitrary power of removing a subject from his land. That power flowed from his sovereignty and though disapproved, was acquiesced in, we may presume, just as in West Africa ; while the dealing of kings with lands by way of absolute ownership was regarded as a complete breach of the tribal law, the actual removal from his land, of any individual was recognised as a royal prerogative, even if the power was misused."<sup>753</sup>

As to the king's revenue we have the following passage in the Atharvaveda :

"Emaṃ bhaja grāme aśveṣu goṣu niṣṭhaṃ  
bhaja yo amitro asya."<sup>754</sup>

"Give him a share in village, kine and horses and leave  
his enemy without a portion, (O Indra).

The king's share is called 'bali' in the Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas which is also used to denote the tribute paid by the conquered enemies and

<sup>753</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. pp. 132—33.

<sup>754</sup> Atharvaveda IV. 22. 2.



offerings made to the gods.<sup>755</sup> Along with this is mentioned *hiranya* which as Professor U. N. Ghosal has suggested, means cash charge upon certain special classes of crops.<sup>756</sup> As to any fixed share of the produce being paid to the king, the evidence of the following passage of the Atharvaveda is significant :

“Yad rājāno bibhajanta iṣṭāpurttasya ṣoḍaśam  
Yamasyāmi sabhāsadaḥ”<sup>757</sup>

“When yonder kings who sit beside Yama divide  
among themselves the sixteenth part of hopes fulfilled.”

This passage occurs in a hymn whose subject is immunity from taxation in the next world to be purchased by the performance of a certain sacrifice on earth and may, therefore, well point to the royal share being assessed to a sixteenth part of the produce in those days.

The rise of a landed aristocracy, of men who stood as intermediaries between the king and the common cultivator is hinted at in several passages of the Black Yajur Veda. There we are told in connection with the performance of certain sacrifices by a person desirous of winning a village (*grāmakīma*) how the gods concerned ‘assign him creatures led by the noses’<sup>758</sup> how they ‘present his relatives to him and make the folk dependent on him’<sup>759</sup> and how they enable him to grasp the mind of his equals.<sup>760</sup> These significant expressions can only refer to the lordships of single villages either obtained through royal favour or acceptance by villagers or acquired in the first instance by individual exertion, but afterwards receiving the seal of royal confirmation. According to the authors of the Vedic Index what the king granted was his right of levying contributions and probably nothing more. In the other case the man attained nothing more than social pre-eminence in as much as it required the sanction of *sajātas* and *saṁīnas*, and this shows that no

<sup>755</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, s. v. *bali*.

<sup>756</sup> U. N. Ghosal — Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System, pp. 59—62.

<sup>757</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 29. 1.

<sup>758</sup> Black Yajur Veda, II. 1. 1. 2.

<sup>759</sup> Ibid., II. 1. 3. 2.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid., II. 3. 9. 2.



real rights were parted with by the *sajātas* but were vested in him. When we come to later literature we find instances of gifts of villages by kings. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*<sup>761</sup> mentions the gift of a village by king *Janaśruti* to *Raikka*. In subsequent periods such gifts of villages were common and this contributed to the growth of the *Mahāsālas* whom we find in the *Upaniṣads* and in early Buddhist literature. The evidence of Buddhist literature shows, as we shall see later on, that the *Mahāsālas* enjoyed the revenue of villages and may be regarded as occupying the position of land-lords.

As regards the *law of inheritance* we have a passage even in the *Rigveda*<sup>762</sup> which according to *Sāyaṇa*'s interpretation appear to attribute, in a very obscure manner, to the customs or laws of succession to property among men. The passage reads thus :

“Wise, teaching, following thought of Order,  
the sonless gained a grandson from his daughter.  
Fain, as a sire, to see his child prolific, he sped  
to meet her with an eager spirit.  
The son left not his portion to the brother .....

The word *vāhniḥ*, which usually means an oblation-bearer, a sacrificer, a priest or one who is borne along as a god in a celestial car, is taken by *Sāyaṇa* to mean sonless, the father of a daughter only. The sonless father, according to *Sāyaṇa*, “stipulates that his daughter’s son, his grandson, shall be his son, a mode of affiliation recognised by law ; and relying on an heir thus obtained, and one who can perform his funeral rites, he is satisfied.” *Sāyaṇa* interprets “The son left not his portion to the brother” thus : “a son born of the body does not transfer (paternal) wealth to a sister.”<sup>763</sup> We have two mythological accounts of father *Manu* (not as Law-giver but as Adam of the race) and of the division of his inheritance. One of them

<sup>761</sup> IV. 2. 4.

<sup>762</sup> III. 31. 1—2.

<sup>763</sup> Professor Wilson remarks “These two verses, if rightly interpreted, are wholly unconnected with the subject of the *Sūkta*, and come in without any apparent object : they are very obscure, and are only made somewhat intelligible by interpretations which seem to be arbitrary, and are very unusual, although not peculiar to *Sāyaṇa*, his explanation being based on those of *Yāska*.”

says "Manu divided his property among his sons ; one of them Nāvānediṣṭha by name living elsewhere as a student he excluded from a share."<sup>764</sup> The other account says "The brothers excluded from a share one of Manu's sons."<sup>765</sup> In both the accounts the property is divided in the father's life-time and the division was equal. In due course Nāvānediṣṭha demanded his share and his claim was accepted in principle, though many obstacles intervened in his regaining his lawful share. The story shows undoubtedly that even during the life-time of the father, son were regarded as having a vested interest in property, from which they could not be excluded at will. The Black Yajur Veda<sup>766</sup> speaks of a father making common property with a son. The commentator takes this as referring to the fact that the son's earnings are his own, the father shares them with the family and this seems correct. Sāyaṇa also notes that the son keeps his secretly, *i.e.*, perhaps his ownership was *precario*, not of right ; the parallel to Roman law is striking and justifies us in accepting the view of the commentator. In the mythology of the Brāhmaṇa period we find that the children of the Father God viz., gods and devils fight for their respective shares and "enter into their inheritance" by dividing it. The division of property among the sons was not always equal, the eldest often getting a little more than the others, probably even a double share of the wealth as is evident from the following passage of the Atharvaveda.<sup>767</sup>

"Agni, the banqueter on flesh, not banished,  
for the eldest son

Taket a double share of wealth and  
spoil it with poverty."

The meaning of the passage seems to be, that if the rites are not duly performed the eldest son of the departed, though he receives a double share of the property, will be eventually ruined.

*Agriculture*—Progress was doubtless made in agriculture. The plough was large and heavy ; we hear of as many as six<sup>768</sup> or eight<sup>769</sup> or

<sup>764</sup> Black Yajur Veda, III. 1. 9.

<sup>766</sup> II. 6. 1.

<sup>768</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 91. 1 ; Black Yajur Veda, V. 2. 5.

<sup>769</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 91. 1.

<sup>765</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, V. 14.

<sup>767</sup> XII. 2. 35



twelve<sup>770</sup> oxen being harnessed to the plough. The plough was "of keen share, with well-polished handle."<sup>771</sup> The seasons bearing on agriculture are mentioned in the Black Yajur Veda. Thus barley ripen in the hot season, rice in autumn, beans and sesamum in winter and the cool season.<sup>772</sup> Further we learn that "twice in the year does the corn ripen."<sup>773</sup> According to the Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa<sup>774</sup> the winter crop was ripe by the month of Chaitra. The mention of a double crop shows a distinct advance in agriculture, which may be attributed partly to the larger use of manure and irrigation and partly to the knowledge of the cultivation of a larger variety of grains and plants which grew in different parts of the year. Indeed the advantages of a rotation of crops were fully realised. Thus a season of barley (yava) would be succeeded by one of rice (vrihi)<sup>775</sup> bean (mudga or māsha) and sesamum (tila). Besides these, other varieties of crops mentioned in the White Yajur Veda<sup>776</sup> were probably sown on the principle of rotation.<sup>777</sup>

The adoption of a system of rotation of crops, combined with the undeveloped state of intensive cultivation, apparently gave rise to what is known as the Field-grass system or Pasture or Two-field and Three-field systems. We may call this system of 'Khila' system of agriculture, for the

<sup>770</sup> Black Yajur Veda, V. 2. 5.

<sup>771</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 17. 3 = Black Yajur Veda, IV. 2. 5.

<sup>772</sup> Black Yajur Veda, VII. 2. 10.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 7.

<sup>774</sup> XIX. 3.

<sup>775</sup> Compare Gobhila, I. 4. 29 and Khādīra, I. 5. 37: "From the rice harvest till the barley (harvest) or from the barley (harvest) till the rice (harvest) he should offer the sacrifices."

<sup>776</sup> XVIII. 12.

<sup>777</sup> As the seasons of the Vedic Age did not exactly coincide with those of later times a short notice seems necessary here. In the Rigveda five seasons are mentioned viz., Vasanta (Spring), Grīṣma (Summer), Śarat (Autumn), Prāṇiṣa (Rainy season) and the Hemanta or Hima (Winter). The Brāhmaṇas also mention these seasons. The Sāṃkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra (IV. 18. 1) also mentions only five seasons of the year. A sixth season was recognised later on as the evidence of Kautilya's Atharthaśāstra (Book II. Chapter 20) shows. See Tilak *Artic Home in the Vedas*, p. 183; Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, I. pp. 110—11; Zimmer—*Altindisches Leben*, pp. 373—74.



reason that land in those days appears to have been alternately cultivated and laid fallow (khila) to recover its fertility.<sup>778</sup> Under the Two-field system there were two plots of land, one remaining under cultivation in any particular year or season, and the other lying fallow after the last harvest. In alternate years or so the fallow lands, serving temporarily as pastures would be brought under cultivation. At a time when intensive cultivation was still in incipency, this method would enable land to recover fertility easily. In very early times when the number of crops raised did not exceed one or two, the system was a simple one; one plot of land would in a particular season remain under cultivation, say, of barley (yava) only while the other would remain fallow say, after the rice-harvest. But when the number of crops raised increased and the cultivator sowed and reaped more than two varieties in rotation,<sup>779</sup> the system followed must have been a Three-fold system, three or four varieties being raised in two of the fields every year and the third lying fallow once in every three years. The ideal system that would work, may be thus indicated: let A, B and C be the three fields; then, in the first year, A would produce in rotation, say, Yava and Vrihi, B would similarly produce in rotation tila, māṣha, godhūma or maśura<sup>780</sup> and C would remain fallow; in the second year, A would be cultivated intensively for one or two crops, B would remain fallow and C would produce two crops in rotation; in the third year, A would lie fallow, B would produce one or two crops like A in the second year, and C would produce one or two crops like A in the first or the second year ..... if B produces one crop, C produces two and vice-versa.<sup>781</sup>

Some more details about agricultural operations are forthcoming. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>782</sup> mentions the operations of ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing. The Atharvaveda<sup>783</sup> mentions the use of manure

<sup>778</sup> See Professor Kishori Mohan Gupta's article on "The Land system and Agriculture of the Vedic Age" in Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume on Orientalia, Vol. III. Part II.

<sup>779</sup> White Yajur Veda, XVIII. 12 seems to refer to this.

<sup>780</sup> White Yajur Veda, XVIII. 12; Black Yajur Veda, VII. 2. 10. 2.

<sup>781</sup> Prof. K. M. Gupta — Land System in South India between 800 A. D. and 1200 A. D., pp. 197—99.

<sup>782</sup> I. 6. 1. 3.

<sup>783</sup> III. 14. 3.

(karīsa, cow-dung). One of its hymns<sup>784</sup> was composed on the occasion of cutting a channel for irrigation or to avert a flood. Here the newly cut canal is described as a calf to the river which is the cow.<sup>785</sup> Well irrigation is thus described in the Black Yajur Veda.<sup>786</sup>

"Make firm the straps,  
Fasten the buckets ;  
We shall drain the well full of water,  
That never is exhausted, never faileth.<sup>787</sup>  
The well with buckets fastened,  
With strong straps, that yieldeth abundantly,  
Full of water, unexhausted, I drain."<sup>788</sup>

The Kauśika Saṃhitā<sup>789</sup> also refers to canal irrigation and gives us the practical part of the ceremony of letting in the water. At first some gold plate is deposited on the bed, a frog with a blue and red thread round it, is made to sit on the gold plate and after this the frog is covered with an aquatic plant called Śevala and water is then let in.

As to the crops, the Atharvaveda mentions besides yava, sesamum,<sup>790</sup> vrihi<sup>791</sup> (as also tandula<sup>792</sup>). We also find the word śarīśākā<sup>793</sup> which Griffith has translated as cultivated rice.<sup>794</sup> The cultivation of sugarcane is also referred to in the Atharvaveda.<sup>795</sup> The White Yajur-veda mentions a large number of crops. Thus we read :

"Vrihayaścha me yavaścha me māśāścha me  
tilāścha me mudgāścha me khālvaścha me  
priyaṅgavaścha me navaścha me  
śyāmākāścha me nīvārāścha me godhumāścha  
me masuraścha me yajñena kalpyantām."<sup>796</sup>

<sup>784</sup> III. 13.

<sup>785</sup> III. 13. 7.

<sup>786</sup> IV. 2. 5.

<sup>787</sup> Cf. Rigveda X. 101. 5 ; Kāthaka Saṃhitā XXXVIII. 14.

<sup>788</sup> Cf. Rigveda, X. 101. 6.

<sup>789</sup> XL. 3—8.

<sup>790</sup> II. 8. 3 ; XVIII. 3. 69.

<sup>791</sup> VI. 140. 2 ; VIII. 7. 20 ; IX. 6. 14 ; XII. 4. 18, 30, 32 ; cf. IV. 35.

<sup>792</sup> X. 9. 26.

<sup>793</sup> III. 14. 5.

<sup>794</sup> Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. I, p. 101, 101 fn.

<sup>795</sup> I. 34. 1, 5.

<sup>796</sup> XVIII. 12.



"May my rice-plants and my barley and my beans and my sesamum and my kidney-beans and my vetches and my millet and my *Panicum Milliaceum* and my *Panicum Frumentaccum* and my wild rice and my wheat and my lentils prosper by sacrifice."<sup>797</sup> Upavākas or Indra-yavas (seeds of the *Wrightia Antidysenterica*) are also mentioned in the White Yajurveda.<sup>798</sup> The Black Yajurveda mentions Yava,<sup>799</sup> rice,<sup>800</sup> beans<sup>801</sup> and sesamum.<sup>802</sup> The Black Yajurveda<sup>803</sup> also distinguishes between the black swift-growing āśu and the mahāvrihi. In another place<sup>804</sup> we find reference to black rice and white rice. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>805</sup> speaks of two kinds of rice āśu and mahāvrihi. The Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad mentions a large number of crops. Thus we are told "There are ten kinds of village (cultivated) seeds viz., rice and barley (vrihiyavas), sesamum and kidney-beans (tilamāsas), millet and panic seed (anupriyangavas), wheat (godhumā), lentils (masūrā), pulse (khalvā) and vetches (khalakula)."<sup>806</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa mentions sesamum,<sup>807</sup> mudga,<sup>808</sup> mustard,<sup>809</sup> māsā,<sup>810</sup> śāli rice<sup>811</sup> (as also tandula<sup>812</sup>). The Rāmāyaṇa refers to sugarcane,<sup>813</sup> sugarcandy<sup>814</sup> as well as molasses.<sup>815</sup> Royal grain-stores are also mentioned.<sup>816</sup>

<sup>797</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 194.

<sup>798</sup> XIX. 22.

<sup>799</sup> I. 3. 1, 2, 6 ; VII. 2. 10.

<sup>800</sup> VII. 2. 10.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid.

<sup>804</sup> II. 3. 1. 3.

<sup>806</sup> 6th adhyāya, 3rd Brāhmaṇa, verse 13. Max Muller's Translation in S. B. E. Vol. XV., p. 214.

<sup>807</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 20th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>808</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 20th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>809</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 25th sarga.

<sup>810</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>811</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 5th sarga ; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

Compare dhānya in Bālakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>812</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 5th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>813</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 104th sarga.

<sup>814</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>815</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 105th sarga.

<sup>816</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 36th sarga.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid.

<sup>803</sup> I. 8. 10.

<sup>805</sup> I. 7. 3. 4.



From the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>817</sup> we learn that agriculture was an important art, for, it was included in Vārttā which along with Trayī and Dandanīti comprised the famous three branches of learning. In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>818</sup> we find that when Bharata came to the forest to take Rāma back to Ajodhyā, Rāma enquired of Bharata whether agriculturists found favour with him, in fact whether all persons living by Vārttā are prospering in his kingdom, for, it was the duty of the king to look after their interests and welfare. As a matter of fact, we find that in Rāma's time the world was green with corn<sup>819</sup>; every city, village and kingdom had plenty of corn.<sup>820</sup> Kośala mahājanapada abounded in corn.<sup>821</sup> Ajodhyā is described as abounding in corn.<sup>822</sup> Every house in the city of Ajodhyā was filled with śālī rice.<sup>823</sup> The Vatsakingdom had plenty of corn (Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 52nd sarga). The banks of the Māgadhī river are described as very fertile and as producing corn.<sup>824</sup> The banks of the river Pampā flowing through the kingdom of Kiśkindhyā abound in corn.<sup>825</sup> Corn is also grown in Drāviḍa, Sind, Soubīra, Sourāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Anga, Banga, Magadha, Matya and Kāśī.<sup>826</sup>

The farmer had as now constant trouble to contend with : the fields were covered with weeds like salanjāla and nilagalasālā<sup>827</sup>; moles destroyed the seeds; birds and other creatures destroyed the young shoots; both drought and excessive rain destroyed the crops; and lightning often injured crops and plants. The Atharvaveda provides us with a considerable number of spells to avoid these disasters and secure a good harvest. Thus we read :

<sup>817</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 100, verse 68.

<sup>818</sup> Ibid., sarga 100, verse 47.

<sup>819</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga 70.

<sup>820</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 2.

<sup>821</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 5; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 50.

<sup>822</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 75; Ibid., sarga 82; Ibid., 84.

<sup>823</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 5.

<sup>824</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 32.

<sup>825</sup> Kiśkindhyākāṇḍa, sarga 1.

<sup>826</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 10.

<sup>827</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 16. 4.

“Destroy the rat, the mole, boring beetle, cut off  
 their heads and crush their ribs, O Aświns  
 Bind fast their mouths ; let them not eat our barley”<sup>828</sup>  
 “Spring high, O Barley, and become much through  
 thine own magnificence :  
 Burst all the vessels : let the bolt from heaven forbear  
 to strike the down.”<sup>829</sup>  
 “Strike not, O God, our growing corn with lightning,  
 nor kill it with the burning rays of Sūrya.”<sup>830</sup>

We have also charms for hastening the coming of periodical rains,<sup>831</sup> for fair weather<sup>832</sup> and to avert inundation.<sup>833</sup> All these precautions generally resulted in agricultural prosperity which we find described in many hymns of the Atharvaveda and the other Samhitās. It is not necessary to quote at length the prayers for a bumper harvest,<sup>834</sup> increase of cattle<sup>835</sup> and accumulation of wealth<sup>836</sup> ; though these harvest songs throw much light on the requirements of the peasantry and their simple ideas of happiness.

Despite these precautions famines were not unknown. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>837</sup> we are told of a famine caused by the destruction of crops by locusts (mataci) whose intensity was so great that a muni Cakrāyana by name had to migrate to a neighbouring country along with his young wife and had to live on kulmāṣa. In the Rāmāyaṇa we find that in Rāma's time the people were free from famine.<sup>838</sup> Nevertheless we find that after the destruction of Vṛtrāsura owing to drought many people died

<sup>828</sup> Ibid., VI. 50. 1.

<sup>829</sup> Ibid., VI. 142. 1.

<sup>830</sup> Ibid., VII. 11. 1.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid., IV. 15.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid., VI. 128.

<sup>833</sup> Ibid., VII. 18. See Kauśikasūtra, CIIL. 3. and Weber's Omens and Portents, p. 366.

<sup>834</sup> Ibid., IV. 39. 2 ; VI. 142 ; XIX. 7. 4 ; XIX. 9. 1.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid., I. 31. 4 ; I. 15. 2 ; VI. 16 ; VI. 59. ; VII. 104.

<sup>836</sup> Ibid., I. 15 ; I. 26. 2 ; IV. 39 ; VI. 55. 2 ; VII. 16 ; VII. 17 ; VII. 20. 3 ; VII. 40 ; VII. 41 ; XIX. 3 ; XIX. 7. 5 ; XIX. 10. 2.

<sup>837</sup> I. 10. 1—3.

<sup>838</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 1 ; Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga 112.

of famine.<sup>839</sup> Again owing to the sin of king Lomapāda, famine over took his kingdom of Anga.<sup>840</sup>

*Forests and their economic importance*—Besides serving as natural pastures the forests supplied an essential part of the economic needs of the people of this age. They provided them with wild rice (nivāra),<sup>841</sup> fuel<sup>842</sup> and with the materials for the construction of houses,<sup>843</sup> chariots,<sup>844</sup> sacrificial implements<sup>845</sup> and animals.<sup>846</sup> They were a perennial source of supply of medicinal herbs and plants<sup>847</sup> as well as of sacrificial grass.<sup>848</sup> They also supplied the people with aloe (aguru),<sup>849</sup> bdellium (guggulu),<sup>850</sup> spikenard (naladi),<sup>851</sup> resin (śālanirjyāsa),<sup>852</sup> musk,<sup>853</sup> sandalwood,<sup>854</sup> lac,<sup>855</sup> hides,<sup>856</sup> fruits<sup>857</sup> and honey.<sup>858</sup> Sandalwood was used not only for the cremation of kings<sup>859</sup> but also for preparing a paste for personal

<sup>839</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga 99.

<sup>840</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, sarga, 9.

<sup>841</sup> White Yajurveda, XVIII. 12.

<sup>842</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>843</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga; Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>844</sup> Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. II. p. 440 fn.

<sup>845</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>846</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 1—40.

<sup>847</sup> See below.

<sup>848</sup> Ibid.

<sup>849</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 76th, 86th and 91st sargas.

<sup>850</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 36. 7; IV. 37. 3; XIX. 38. 1, 2; Compare White Yajurveda, V. 13.

<sup>851</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 37. 3.

<sup>852</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 76th sarga.

<sup>853</sup> Ibid., Laṅkākaṇḍa, 75th sarga.

<sup>854</sup> Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th, 35th and 60th sargas; Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st, 27th, and 41st sargas;

<sup>855</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 75th sarga; Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga.

<sup>856</sup> Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 43rd sarga (deer-skin) Ibid., Laṅkākaṇḍa, 75th sarga (tiger-skin and the yak's tail).

<sup>857</sup> See below.

<sup>858</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 34. 1—4; III. 30. 2; IV. 36. 6; VII. 56. 2; IX. 1. 16—19, 22; Compare Ibid, XVIII. 2. 14; XVIII. 4. 3; White Yajurveda, I. 16; XVII. 3. 13; XVIII. 65; Black Yajurveda, V. 2. 6; V. 4. 2; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 75th sarga, etc.

<sup>859</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 25th sarga.



adornment.<sup>860</sup> The milky juice of the *Ficus Indica* (Bata) leaves was used in preparing matted locks of hair.<sup>861</sup> No wonder, therefore that the poet-priests sang in the following strain :—

“May the plants be sweet for us.”<sup>862</sup>

“May the tall trees be full of sweets for us.”<sup>863</sup>

The various useful trees known to the people of this period are :—  
 (1) Vibhidaka or Vibhitaka (*Terminalia Bellerica*)<sup>864</sup> whose nuts were used as dice in very early times.<sup>865</sup> (2) Palāśa or Parna (*Butea Frondosa*)<sup>866</sup> from whose wood covers of some sacrificial vessels were made.<sup>867</sup> The great ladle called Juhū with which clarified butter was poured into the sacrificial fire<sup>868</sup> and other sacrificial vessels were made of this wood, to which in the shape of amulets, also great efficacy was ascribed.<sup>869</sup> (3) Udumbara (*Ficus Glomerata*)<sup>870</sup> from whose wood besides amulets, sacrificial posts and ladles were made.<sup>871</sup> In the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*<sup>872</sup> we are told : Four things are made of the wood of Udumbara tree, the sacrificial ladle (*sruva*), the cup (*kamsa*), the fuel and the two churning sticks.” (4) Vaikankata

<sup>860</sup> Ibid., *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 76th, 78th, 88th and 91st sargas.

<sup>861</sup> Ibid., 52nd sarga.

<sup>862</sup> White *Yajurveda*, XIII. 27.

<sup>863</sup> Ibid., XIII. 29.

<sup>864</sup> *Atharvaveda*, VII. 109. 1.

<sup>865</sup> *Rigveda*, X. 34. 1.

<sup>866</sup> *Atharvaveda*, III. 5 ; V. 5. 6 ; XIV. 1. 61 ; XVIII. 4. 53 ; White *Yajurveda*, XI. 57. 50 ; XII. 86. 79 ; XXXV. 4 ; Black *Yajurveda*, IV. 2. 6 ; VII. 4. 12 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga ; *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 63rd sarga.

<sup>867</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XVIII. 4. 53.

<sup>868</sup> Black *Yajurveda*, III. 5. 7.

<sup>869</sup> *Atharvaveda*, III. 5. Prof. Weber observes that Palāśa or Parna is etymologically identical with the German Farn, English Fern ; Fern-seed was supposed to have the power of rendering one who carried it invisible, and the plant was said to be of celestial origin and able to secure the fulfilment of every wish (Simrock, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 498 ).

<sup>870</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XIX. 31 ; White *Yajurveda*, V. 26. 26, 28 ; Black *Yajurveda*, III. 4. 8 ; VII. 4. 12.

<sup>871</sup> Griffith's *Atharvaveda*, Vol. II. p. 287 fn.

<sup>872</sup> 6th *Adhyāya*, 3rd *Brāhmaṇa*, 13.

(*Flacourtia Sapida*)<sup>873</sup> whose wood was used as sacrificial fuel as well as for manufacturing vessels for spirituous liquors.<sup>874</sup> (5) *Madhuka* or *Mandhuka* (*Bassia Latifolia*)<sup>875</sup> whose wood was used as sacrificial fuel.<sup>876</sup> (6) *Aratu* (*calosan* this *Indica*),<sup>877</sup> a hard wooded tree from whose timber the axles of chariots and carts were made.<sup>878</sup> (7) *Bilva*<sup>879</sup> which grows wild and produces an edible fruit, the wood-apple. It was used to curdle milk.<sup>880</sup> (8) *Chandana*, sandal-wood.<sup>881</sup> The *Rāmāyana*<sup>882</sup> refers to three kinds of sandal wood viz., *Gośira*, *Padmaka* and *Haris̥yama*. (9) *Syandana*<sup>883</sup> (10) *Raktachandana*<sup>884</sup> (11) *Nagakeśara*<sup>885</sup> (12) *Simha-keśara*<sup>886</sup> (13) *Nāga*<sup>887</sup> (14) *Punnāga*<sup>888</sup> (15) *Śisunāga*<sup>889</sup>

<sup>873</sup> White Yajurveda, X. 34. 32; XI. 75. 71; XVII. 74.

<sup>874</sup> White Yajurveda X. 34. 32. Compare *Vikankata* tree in Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7; V. 1. 9; V. 4. 7; VI. 4. 10.

<sup>875</sup> Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8; *Rāmāyana*, *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 94th sarga; *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 11th sarga; *Laṅkākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>876</sup> Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8.

<sup>877</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XX. 131. 17, 18.

<sup>878</sup> Griffith's *Atharvaveda*, Vol. II. p. 440 fn.

<sup>879</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XX. 136. 3; White Yajurveda, XIX. 22; XIX. 89; XIX. 91; XXI. 29; Black Yajurveda, II. 5. 3; *Rāmāyana*, *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 13th sarga.

<sup>880</sup> Black Yajurveda II. 5. 3. Sacrificial posts were made of *Bilva* wood (*Rāmāyana*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga).

<sup>881</sup> *Rāmāyana*, *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th, 35th and 60th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st, 27th and 41st sargas; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga. The *Malavāchala* hill (*Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 41st sarga), the islands or churs in the river *Kāveri* (*Ibid*) and the southern sea-coast of the Deccan (*Aranyakāṇḍa*, 35th sarga) were adorned with sandalwood forests.

<sup>882</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 41st sarga.

<sup>883</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th sarga; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>884</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>885</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 73rd sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>886</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>887</sup> *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga.

<sup>888</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th, 60th, 75th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 50th sarga; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 15th sarga; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>889</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.



(16) Aśvatthā<sup>890</sup> (17) Nyagrodha<sup>891</sup> (18) Plakṣa, the waved leaf Fig tree (Ficus Infectoria)<sup>892</sup> (19) Śamī (Acacia Sumā or Prosopis Specigera)<sup>893</sup> (20) Śiśu<sup>894</sup> (21) Talāsa, an unidentified tree, described as the queen of trees in the Atharvaveda.<sup>895</sup> (22) Trishtāgha which supplied fuel<sup>896</sup> (23) Vishāṅka, an unidentified plant or tree<sup>897</sup> (24) Putudru (Pinus Deodar), Devadāru tree<sup>898</sup> from whose timber sacrificial posts were made<sup>899</sup> (25) Fig tree<sup>900</sup> (26) Kārshamarya tree (Gmelina Arbora)<sup>901</sup> from whose wood sacrificial ladles were made<sup>902</sup> (27) Kṛimuka,<sup>903</sup> a tree unknown to European Botanists which furnished kindling sticks for sacrificial purposes.<sup>904</sup> (28) Śālmali, silk-cotton tree<sup>905</sup> (29) Dhava (Grislea Tomentosa)<sup>906</sup> (30) Hāridrava<sup>907</sup> which according to Sāyana, is Haritālā tree (31) Śleṣmātaka tree<sup>908</sup> from whose wood sacrificial posts were made<sup>909</sup>

<sup>890</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 6; IV. 37. 4; V. 4. 3; V. 5. 5; VI. 11. 1; VI 95 1; VIII. 7. 20; VIII. 8. 3; XII. 3. 1; XX. 131. 17, 18; XX. 134. 3; Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa 13th and 72rd sargas.

<sup>891</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 37. 4; V. 5. 5; White Yajurveda, XXIII. 16. 13; Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8; Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga.

<sup>892</sup> Atharvaveda V. 5. 5; Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga; its wood was used as sacrificial fuel (Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8).

<sup>893</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 11. 1; VI. 30. 3; Black Yajurveda, V. 1. 9; V. 4. 7.

<sup>894</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 129. 1; XX. 129. 7, 8.

<sup>895</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 15. 3.

<sup>896</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 29. 15; Kauśikasūtra, XXV. 27.

<sup>897</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 44. 3.

<sup>898</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 2. 28; White Yajurveda, V. 18. 13; Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

<sup>899</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>900</sup> White Yajurveda, XII. 86. 79.

<sup>901</sup> White Yajurveda, XIII. 13.

<sup>902</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 138 fn.

<sup>903</sup> White Yajurveda, XI. 70; Compare Krumuka wood in Black Yajurveda, V. 1. 9.

<sup>904</sup> Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 117 fn.

<sup>905</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIII. 16. 13; Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>906</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 131. 17, 18; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga; Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th and 73rd sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 50th sargas.

<sup>907</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 22. 4= Rigveda I. 50. 12.

<sup>908</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>909</sup> Ibid.



- (32) Kukuva<sup>910</sup> (33) Tinduka<sup>911</sup> (34) Pātala<sup>912</sup> (35) Badarī<sup>913</sup> (36) Sal-lakī<sup>914</sup> (37) Betasa<sup>915</sup> (38) Jambu<sup>916</sup> (39) Kiṃśuka<sup>917</sup> (40) Vallātaka<sup>918</sup> (41) Bata (Ficus Indica)<sup>919</sup> (42) Śāla<sup>920</sup> (43) Marichagulma<sup>921</sup> (44) In-gudī<sup>922</sup> (45) Kapittha<sup>923</sup> (46) Panasa<sup>924</sup> (47) Bijapūraka<sup>925</sup> (48) Asana<sup>926</sup> (49) Tamāla<sup>927</sup> (50) Vāruṇḍa<sup>928</sup> (51) Śiṃśapā<sup>929</sup> (52) Nibāra<sup>930</sup>

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- <sup>910</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa 60th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 27th sarga.  
<sup>911</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 94th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.  
<sup>912</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Compare Pātali tree in Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 1st sarga and Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga.  
<sup>913</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga ; Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 55th and 94th sargas.  
<sup>914</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga.  
<sup>915</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga, Aranyakāṇḍa, 61st sarga ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 27th sarga.  
<sup>916</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 55th, 91st and 94th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 63th and 73rd sargas ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 28th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.  
<sup>917</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 55th, 56th and 63rd sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 104th sarga.  
<sup>918</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 56th sarga.  
<sup>919</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 15th, 53rd, 55th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.  
<sup>920</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 71st, 72nd, 96th and 99th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th, 15th, 35th and 60th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 27th, 40th and 50th sargas ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga. There were beautiful avenues of Śāla trees in the city of Ajodhyā ( Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 5th sarga ).  
<sup>921</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.  
<sup>922</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 50th and 88th sargas.  
<sup>923</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 91st sarga.  
<sup>924</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th, 15th, 60th, 73rd, 91st and 94th Sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas.  
<sup>925</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 91st sarga.  
<sup>926</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 94th sarga.  
<sup>927</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th and 35th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 27th, 40th and 50th sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 114th sarga.  
<sup>928</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 71st sarga.  
<sup>929</sup> Ajodhyakāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 1st sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th and 18th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.  
<sup>930</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th and 15th sargas,

- (53) Binduka<sup>931</sup> (54) Piyāla<sup>932</sup> (55) Amkola<sup>933</sup> (56) Tiniśa<sup>934</sup>  
 (57) Beṇu<sup>935</sup> (58) Chiribilwa<sup>936</sup> (59) Tilaka<sup>937</sup> (60) Nīpa<sup>938</sup> (61) Bijaka<sup>939</sup>  
 (62) Aśwakarna<sup>940</sup> (63) Lakucha<sup>941</sup> (64) Arjuna<sup>942</sup> (65) Kurara<sup>943</sup>  
 (66) Sindubāra<sup>944</sup> (67) Karnikāra<sup>945</sup> (68) Nila<sup>946</sup> (69) Agnimukhya<sup>947</sup>  
 (70) Pāribhadraka<sup>948</sup> (71) Naktamāla<sup>949</sup> (72) Uddālaka<sup>950</sup> (73) Kuranta<sup>951</sup>  
 (74) Churnaka<sup>952</sup> (75) Kobidāra<sup>953</sup> (76) Muchukanda<sup>954</sup> (77) Karañja<sup>955</sup>  
 (78) Raktakuruvaka<sup>956</sup> (79) Kṣīri tree<sup>957</sup> (80) Atimukta<sup>958</sup> (81) Pad-

<sup>931</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>932</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga.

<sup>933</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>934</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th and 15th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 27th sargas; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>935</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.

<sup>936</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>937</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>938</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>939</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.

<sup>940</sup> Bālakāṇḍa, 24th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 56th sarga.

<sup>941</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>942</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st, 27th and 28th sargas; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>943</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga.

<sup>944</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>945</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th and 50th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga.

<sup>946</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>947</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga.

<sup>948</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga.

<sup>949</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>950</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 75th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 42nd sargas; Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th and 15th sargas.

<sup>951</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>952</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>953</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>954</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>955</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>956</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>957</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

<sup>958</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.



maka<sup>959</sup> (82) Sarjja<sup>960</sup> (83) Sarala, Indian pine tree<sup>961</sup> (84) Bānira<sup>962</sup> (85) Timida<sup>963</sup> (86) Kṛitamāla<sup>964</sup> (87) Saptaparna<sup>965</sup> (88) Bañjula<sup>966</sup> (89) Vabya<sup>967</sup> (90) Rañjaka<sup>968</sup> (91) Muchulinda<sup>969</sup> (92) Patalika<sup>970</sup> (93) Kūtaja<sup>971</sup> (94) Hintila<sup>972</sup> (95) Līlāsoka<sup>973</sup> (96) Priyangu<sup>974</sup> (97) Tungaka<sup>975</sup> and (98) Khadira<sup>976</sup> (Acacia Catechu) from whose timber four-cornered sacrificial cups,<sup>977</sup> thrones,<sup>978</sup> sacrificial posts<sup>979</sup> and dipping spoons<sup>980</sup> were made.

From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that the art of gardening was known and practised in those days. The trees, flower-plants and fruit-trees were planted in the Aśoka forest, the royal pleasure-garden of Lankā by experts (in horticulture).<sup>981</sup> The garden was furnished with tanks having rows of trees planted on their banks with pleasure-houses, beautiful groves and

<sup>959</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th and 43rd sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>960</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 28th sarga.

<sup>961</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>962</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

<sup>963</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

<sup>964</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 27th sarga.

<sup>965</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>966</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

<sup>967</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>968</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>969</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>970</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>971</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>972</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 27th sargas ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>973</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

<sup>974</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sarga.

<sup>975</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa 52nd sarga.

<sup>976</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 6. 1 ; V. 5. 5 ; VIII. 8. 3 ; X. 6. 7 ; XII. 3. 1 ; XX. 131. 17, 18 ; White Yajurveda, V. 42 ; VIII. 33 ; X. 26 ; Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7. 1 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga ; Araṇya-kāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>977</sup> White Yajurveda, VIII. 33.

<sup>978</sup> White Yajurveda, X. 26.

<sup>979</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>980</sup> Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7. 1.

<sup>981</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.



raised seats here and there.<sup>982</sup> The following flower plants and trees are mentioned in this period :—(1) *Aśoka*<sup>983</sup> (2) *Ketaka*<sup>984</sup> (3) *Champaka*<sup>985</sup> (4) *Bakula*<sup>986</sup> (5) *Raktotpala*<sup>987</sup> (6) *Kadamba*<sup>988</sup> (7) *Mālatī*<sup>989</sup> (8) *Mallikā*<sup>990</sup> (9) *Padma*<sup>991</sup> (10) *Karavīra*<sup>992</sup> (11) *Sindubāra*<sup>993</sup> (12) *Bāsanti*<sup>994</sup> (13) *Matulinga*<sup>995</sup> (14) *Pūrṇa*<sup>996</sup> (15) *Chirabilva*<sup>997</sup> (16) *Kunda*<sup>998</sup> (17) *Pārijita*<sup>999</sup> (18) *Aguru*<sup>1000</sup> (19) *Kalīguru*<sup>1001</sup> (20) *Tagara*<sup>1002</sup> (21) *Mandāra*<sup>1003</sup> (22) *Mādhavi*<sup>1004</sup> (23) *Bañjula*<sup>1005</sup> (24) *Bakula*<sup>1006</sup> (25) *Gagapuspi*<sup>1007</sup> (26) *Śriṣa*<sup>1008</sup> (27) *Nilajhpti*<sup>1009</sup>

<sup>982</sup> Ibid.

<sup>983</sup> *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 10th sarga; *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th, 60th, 71st and 75th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 14th sarga; etc.

<sup>984</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th and 60th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st sarga.

<sup>985</sup> *Ajodhyākāṇḍa*, 10th sarga; *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 15th sarga; *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 14th and 15th sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 50th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st sarga.

<sup>986</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 60th sarga. <sup>987</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>988</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 60th and 73rd sargas; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 27th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>989</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas, <sup>990</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>991</sup> White Yajurveda, II. 33; Compare Ibid., XI. 32; XXI. 31; *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>992</sup> *Aranyakāṇḍa*, 73rd sarga; *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>993</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>994</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>995</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st sarga.

<sup>996</sup> Ibid.

<sup>997</sup> Ibid.

<sup>998</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>999</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1000</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga. The southern Sea-coast of the Deccan was adorned with aguru forests (*Aranyakāṇḍa*, 35th sarga).

<sup>1001</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga. <sup>1003</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>1002</sup> *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st sarga. <sup>1004</sup> *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>1005</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 50th sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga.

<sup>1006</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st, 27th and 42nd sargas; *Lankākāṇḍa*, 4th sarga; *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 31st, 52nd and 114th sargas.

<sup>1007</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 12th and 14th sargas.

<sup>1008</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 1st and 27th sargas.

<sup>1009</sup> *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, 30th sarga.

(28) Jivaka<sup>1010</sup> (29) Nilotpala<sup>1011</sup> (30) Lodhra<sup>1012</sup> (31) Amūla (Menthonica Superba),<sup>1013</sup> a species of lily (32) Kandala.<sup>1014</sup>

The following fruit trees were known in this period :—(1) Mango<sup>1015</sup> (2) Takkola<sup>1016</sup> (3) Dārimba,<sup>1017</sup> pomegranate (4) Cocanut<sup>1018</sup> (5) Date-palm (kharjura)<sup>1019</sup> (6) Āmalaki<sup>1020</sup> (7) Tāla<sup>1021</sup> (8) Kadali plant (plantain tree)<sup>1022</sup> and Bilva (Bel tree) [already referred to].

Among the herbs and plants are mentioned (1) Ābayu,<sup>1023</sup> a plant poisonous in its natural condition but medicinal when cooked and properly prepared.<sup>1024</sup> (2) Āndikam, a plant with eggshaped fruits or

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1011</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1012</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 1st and 43rd sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas.

<sup>1013</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 31. 4.

<sup>1014</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 28th sarga.

<sup>1015</sup> Bhṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, Adhyāya IV. Brāhmaṇa III. verse 36 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 63rd, 91st and 94th sargas ; Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th and 73rd sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 1st sarga ; Lankākāṇḍa, 4th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st and 52nd sargas. The kingdom of Kośala was adorned with many mango-gardens ( Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga ). The City of Ajodhyā also had many mango-gardens ( Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 5th sarga ).

<sup>1016</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.

<sup>1017</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 60th sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1018</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 31st sarga ; The southern sea-coast of the Deccan was adorned with groves of cocanut trees ( Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga ).

<sup>1019</sup> Ibid., Aranyakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1020</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga ; Ibid., 94th sarga.

<sup>1021</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga and 99th sarga ; Aranyakāṇḍa 15th sarga, 35th and 60th sargas ; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 11th, 12th, 40th and 50th sargas ; Uttarakāṇḍa 114th sarga. The poet Vālmiki compares the breasts of Sītā to the large tāla fruit ( Aranyakāṇḍa, 46th sarga ).

<sup>1022</sup> Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 13th sarga. The hermitages of Agastya on the Godāvari ( Lankākāṇḍa, 125th sarga ) and of Rāma in the Pāñchbaṇī forest ( Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th and 42nd sargas ) were adorned with groves of plantain tree ; Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa—Upaniṣad, 4th Prapātaka, verse 2.

<sup>1023</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 16. 1.

<sup>1024</sup> Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. I. p. 253 fn.



bulbs<sup>1025</sup> (3) Apāmārga<sup>1026</sup> (from mṛija, to cleanse or wipe, with apa+ā) *Achyranthes Aspera*, a biennial plant frequently used in incantations, in medicine, in washing linen, and in sacrifices, and still believed to have the power of making men proof against the stings of scorpions. It is called also parākpupī, pratyakpupī and pratyakparṇī from the reverted direction of the growth of its leaves, flowers and fruits<sup>1027</sup> (4) Aukṣhagandhī<sup>1028</sup> (5) Guggulu<sup>1029</sup> (*Borassus Flabelliformis*) from which a costly fragrant gum exudes. (6) Jañgiḍa<sup>1030</sup> a plant frequently mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* as a charm against demons and a specific for various diseases. It appears to have been cultivated<sup>1031</sup> (7) Naladi<sup>1032</sup> 8) N r̥chi<sup>1033</sup> (9) Pili<sup>1034</sup> (10) Pātā, probably identical with Pāthā (*Clypea Hernandifolia*)<sup>1035</sup> Like the Scottish rowan or like St. John's wort it was potent against fiends. (11) Baja,<sup>1036</sup> apparently some strong-smelling herb (*Atharvaveda*, VIII. 6. 10) by whose scent the demon is chased away as was Asmodeus by 'the fishy fume that drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse of Tobit's son' (*Paradise Lost*, IV. 168) (12) Pinga<sup>1037</sup> (13) Pramandinī<sup>1038</sup> (14) Priṣniparṇī<sup>1039</sup> having variegated leaves) *Hemionitis Cordifolia*, a medicinal plant, a decoction of which is recommended by *Suśruta* to be taken as a preventive against abortion. (15) Ajaśringī,<sup>1040</sup> literally goat's horn, *Odina Pinnata*, a plant used in incantation. (16) Avakī,<sup>1041</sup> *Blyxa*

<sup>1025</sup> *Atharvaveda*, IV. 34. 5; Compare *Ibid.*, 17. 16.

<sup>1026</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 17. 6; IV. 18. 7, 8; IV. 19. 1, 4; XIX. 20. 3; White *Yajurveda*, XXXV. 11; IX. 38.

<sup>1027</sup> See *Atharvaveda* IV. 19. 4, 7; VI. 129. 3 and VII. 65. 1.

<sup>1028</sup> *Atharvaveda*, IV. 37. 3.

<sup>1029</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 36. 7; IV. 37. 3; XIX. 38. 1, 2; Compare White *Yajurveda* V. 13.

<sup>1030</sup> *Atharvaveda* II. 4. 2, 4, 5; XIX. 34; XIX. 35.

<sup>1031</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 4. 5. ('Sprung from the saps of husbandry').

<sup>1032</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 37. 3. "Smelling of spikenard."

<sup>1033</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 31. 4.

<sup>1034</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 37. 3.

<sup>1035</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 27. 4; IV. 19. 4.

<sup>1036</sup> *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 6. 3; VIII. 6. 24.

<sup>1037</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 6. 18; VIII. 6. 24.

<sup>1038</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 37. 3.

<sup>1039</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 25. 1.

<sup>1040</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 37. 2, 3.

<sup>1041</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 37. 8; VIII. 7. 9; cf. *Ibid.*, III. 13. 7; VI. 12. 3; White *Yajurveda*, XXV. 1; Compare *Ibid.*, XIII. 30; XVII. 4; *Kaṣikāsūtra*, XL. 3-6.



Octandra, a water plant called Śaivāla in later times (17) Sāluda<sup>1042</sup> (18) Sappaka,<sup>1043</sup> an aquatic plant (19) Mulālin,<sup>1044</sup> an aquatic plant (20) Sāmā<sup>1045</sup> (21) Silāchi<sup>1046</sup> more usually called Arundhati<sup>1047</sup>; a medicinal climbing plant formerly applied in cases of severe contusion or fracture<sup>1048</sup> (22) Śipudru,<sup>1049</sup> an unknown plant or tree, a magic cure for consumption.<sup>1050</sup> (23) Vihalha,<sup>1051</sup> an unidentified plant (24) Madāvati,<sup>1052</sup> an unidentified plant (25) Tauvilikā,<sup>1053</sup> some kind of plant or animal (26) Varāṇa,<sup>1054</sup> Crataeva Roxburghii, a plant used in medicine and supposed to possess magical powers. It grew abundantly on the banks of the river Varāṇavati. This Varāṇa healeth all diseases<sup>1055</sup> (27) Vishā,<sup>1056</sup> some unknown herb (28) Vishātākī,<sup>1057</sup> some unknown herb (29) Vishāṇakā<sup>1058</sup> some unknown plant or tree (30) Kuṣṭha,<sup>1059</sup> Costus Speciosus or Arabicus, a medicinal plant, grown on the snowy mountains, a banisher of fever.<sup>1060</sup> (31) Jivālā, Jivala,<sup>1061</sup> two species of plants (32) Nagnahu<sup>1062</sup> was a root used as yeast, for fermenting the surā<sup>1063</sup> (33) Patikā or Putika,<sup>1064</sup> a plant used to expedite the curdling of the sacrificial milk<sup>1065</sup> and as substitutes for Soma plant; a kind of grass according to Mahidhara

<sup>1042</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 6. 17.

<sup>1043</sup> Ibid., IV. 34. 5.

<sup>1044</sup> Ibid., I. 24. 4. Instead of Sāmā the Paippalāda recension reads Śyāmā (the dusky) with which compare Atharvaveda I. 23. 1; so also Śankara Pandit according to two Mss. Observe also Sāmākā = Śyāmākā in Kauśikasutra VIII. 1. Śyāmā is the name of various plants (See St. Petersburg Dictionary, s. v.).

<sup>1045</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 5. 1.

<sup>1046</sup> Ibid., V. 5. 5; IV. 12. 1; VI. 59. 1; IX. 38. 1.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid., IV. 12. 1.

<sup>1049</sup> Ibid., VI. 127. 2.

<sup>1048</sup> Ibid., VI. 127. 2.

<sup>1051</sup> Ibid., VI. 16. 2.

<sup>1050</sup> Ibid., VI. 16. 2.

<sup>1052</sup> Ibid., VI. 16. 3.

<sup>1053</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 1; VI. 85. 1; X. 3.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid., X. 3. 3.

<sup>1056</sup> Ibid., VII. 113. 2.

<sup>1055</sup> Ibid., VII. 113. 2.

<sup>1058</sup> Ibid., VI. 44. 3.

<sup>1056</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 39. 1; V. 4. 1; V. 22. 2; VI. 95; VI. 102. 3; XIX. 57. 2.

<sup>1060</sup> Ibid., V. 4. 1—2.

<sup>1061</sup> Ibid., XIX. 39. 3.

<sup>1062</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 14; XX. 57; XXI. 31.

<sup>1063</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 83.

<sup>1064</sup> White Yajurveda, XXXVII. 6.

<sup>1065</sup> Black Yajurveda, II. 5. 3.

(84) Śana (*Cannabis Sativa*<sup>1066</sup>) or Bhangā=Bhāṅg,<sup>1067</sup> a plant from which an intoxicating drug is prepared.

The following varieties of grass and reeds are mentioned :—  
 (1) Darbha,<sup>1068</sup> a grass used for sacrificial purposes. It spreads rapidly and continually re-roots itself and hence described in the Atharvaveda as 'having a thousand joint.'<sup>1069</sup> The strainer of Soma juice was made of two or three blades of Darbha grass.<sup>1070</sup> Girdle or girth with which the sacrificial horse was to be girded was made of Darbha grass.<sup>1071</sup> (2) Durvā (*Panicum Dactylon*),<sup>1072</sup> a creeping grass with flowering branches erect; by far the common and most useful grass in India. It grows everywhere abundantly, and flowers all the year. (3) Kuśa (*Poa Cynosuroides*),<sup>1073</sup> much used in sacrificial ceremonies and endowed with various sanctifying qualities. It is strewn on the place of sacrifice, specially on the altar, and forming a layer on which the offerings are placed, and a seat for the sacrificers and the gods who are present at the ceremony (4) Muñja (*Saccharum Munja*),<sup>1074</sup> a sort of rush or grass which grows to the height of about ten feet. It is used in basket-work, and the mekhalā or girdle worn by the Brāhmaṇas is made from it. It appears from the Kauśikasutra XXV. 6, and Dārila's Commentary thereon, that the head of a stalk of Muñja grass, is to be tied with a cord, then, perhaps, to be suspended from the neck of the patient or to be otherwise attached to his body. Thus worn the grass will prevent diarrhoea in an acute form. Small round mats were made of Muñja grass and used for ceremonial purposes.<sup>1075</sup> (5) Śara (*Saccharum*

<sup>1066</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 4. 5.

<sup>1067</sup> Ibid., XI. 6. 15.

<sup>1068</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 73; VI. 43. 1, 2; VIII. 7. 20; X. 4. 2; X. 4. 13; XI. 6. 15; XIX. 28; XIX. 32; XIX. 68; White Yajurveda, V. 6. 21, 25; XVIII. 75. 63; Black Yajurveda, V. 6. 4.

<sup>1069</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 7. 3.

<sup>1070</sup> White Yajurveda, I. 9. 3; X. 34. 31.

<sup>1071</sup> Ibid., XXII. 1—2.

<sup>1072</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 106. 1; White Yajurveda, XIII. 24. 20.

<sup>1073</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 7. 1; XX. 131. 9; White Yajurveda, IV. 1; V. 42.

<sup>1074</sup> Atharvaveda I. 2. 4; Compare White Yajurveda, IV. 17. 10; XI. 68.

<sup>1075</sup> White Yajurveda, XII. 2.



Sara),<sup>1076</sup> a reed of which arrows were made.<sup>1077</sup> (6) Babbaja<sup>1078</sup> (7) Kāśa<sup>1079</sup> (8) Iṣikā.<sup>1080</sup>

*Sheep and Cattle-rearing*—Despite the great development of agriculture cattle remained the principal wealth of the people. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in connection with the Royal Coronation the raid of cattle is mentioned, a relic no doubt of older days customs. In the Atharvaveda we find innumerable prayers for the increase of cattle. Thus, we have a benediction on homeward cattle,<sup>1081</sup> a charm against worms or bots in cows,<sup>1082</sup> a benediction on cattle-pen,<sup>1083</sup> glorification and benediction of cows,<sup>1084</sup> a charm for the increase of cattle,<sup>1085</sup> a charm to protect cattle,<sup>1086</sup> a benediction on cattle-calf,<sup>1087</sup> a charm to bring the cattle home,<sup>1088</sup> a blessing on cows,<sup>1089</sup> a glorification of the typical bull and cow,<sup>1090</sup> a glorification of the sacred cow,<sup>1091</sup> on the duty of giving cows to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1092</sup>

The twenty-fourth book of the White Yajurveda contains an exact enumeration of the animals that are to be tied to the sacrificial stakes and in the intermediate spaces, with the names of the deities or deified entities to which they are severally dedicated. The principal stake, the eleventh and midmost of the twenty-one, called the Agniṣṭha because it stands nearest to the sacrificial fire, is mentioned first. About fifteen victims are bound to each of these stakes, all domestic animals, the total number being 327. In the spaces between the stakes 252 wild animals are temporarily confined, to be freed when the ceremony is concluded, bringing the total number of assembled animals upto 609. "There is perhaps some exaggeration in the number" says Mr. Griffith,<sup>1093</sup>

<sup>1076</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 2. 3; Rāmāyaṇa, Ajoḍhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

<sup>1077</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 3. (Compare, Vedic Index, II. 357.)

<sup>1078</sup> Black Yajurveda, II. 2. 8.

<sup>1079</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ajoḍhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

<sup>1080</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1082</sup> Ibid., II. 32.

<sup>1084</sup> Ibid., IV. 21.

<sup>1086</sup> Ibid., VI. 59.

<sup>1088</sup> Ibid., VI. 77.

<sup>1090</sup> Ibid., IX. 7.

<sup>1092</sup> Ibid., XII. 4.

<sup>1081</sup> Atharvaveda, II. 26.

<sup>1083</sup> Ibid., III. 14.

<sup>1085</sup> Ibid., V. 16.

<sup>1087</sup> Ibid., VI. 70.

<sup>1089</sup> Ibid., VII. 75.

<sup>1091</sup> Ibid., X. 10.

<sup>1093</sup> White Yajurveda, p. 258 fn.



"and some almost impossible animals are mentioned, but it must be remembered that the Aśwamedha was a most important tribal solemnity of rare occurrence and that no effort should be spared to assure its performance with all possible splendour." The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1094</sup> in its account of the Aśwamedha recommends 180 domestic animals to be sacrificed.

Among the domestic animals the following are the most important :—

(1) *cow*—The food-value of its milk was very great. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1095</sup> describes the various articles of food prepared from cow's milk. From the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa<sup>1096</sup> we learn that bags were made from cow-hide for holding milk, wine and other liquids. The flesh was also used as food. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1097</sup> mention is made of scores of Kāmya Iṣtis or minor sacrifices with prayers which required beef for their performance. In the larger ceremonies, such as the Rājasūya, the Vājapeya, and the Aśwamedha, the slaughter of the cow was an invariable accompaniment.<sup>1098</sup> The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1099</sup> recommends the slaughter of cows, bulls, nilagaos etc. for the Aśwamedha ceremony. It also recommends the slaughter of seventeen five-year old, humpless dwarf bulls and as many dwarf heifers under three years for the Pañchaśāradiya ceremony.<sup>1100</sup> The Tānda Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda<sup>1101</sup> recommends the slaughter of cattle of a different colour for each successive year. The Atharvaveda gives us a prayer accompanying animal sacrifice<sup>1102</sup> and tells us that the dissectors of the sacrificial bull are to call out the names of the several parts of the carcase as they divide them, each portion being assigned to a separate divinity.<sup>1103</sup> The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa describes in detail the

1094 aśītyadhikaśatasamkhyakāḥ paśava ālabadhyāḥ — Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, II. p. 651.

1095 III. 3. 3.

1096 XIV. 11. 26 ; XVI. 13. 13.

1097 III. ch. VIII.

1098 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III. p. 658. Yathā goup arāṇye swachchandachāri, ebamayaṁ brahmalokopi swatanthro bhabati — Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

1099 II. p. 651.

1100 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Book II.

1101 Tānda Brāhmaṇa, 643 :— śaṣṭyāḥ śaradi kārṭtike māsi Yajet. Saptamyāmaṣṭamyām bāśwayujipakṣe tu batsatarirevāloveran ukṣo bisṭgeyuh.

1102 Atharvaveda, II. 34.

1103 Ibid., IX. 4. 11—14.

mode of cutting up the victim after immolation, evidently for distribution.\* The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa ‡ of the Atharvaveda gives in detail the names of the different individuals (like the Hotā, the Udgātā, the Adhvaryu, the Upagātā, the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the wife of the latter etc.) who are to receive the thirty-six shares into which the carcass is to be divided. Directions similar to these occur also in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1104</sup> and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1105</sup> describes Yajñavalkya and Agastya as taking beef. Yajñavalkya was "wont to eat the meat of milch-cows and bullocks, if only it was tender."<sup>1106</sup> In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1107</sup> we are told that when a king or a distinguished person comes as a guest one should kill a Vehat (old barren cow) for his entertainment. The great sage Yajñavalkya expresses a similar view.<sup>1108</sup> At the same time we notice a growing feeling against beef-eating in this period. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1109</sup> we have a long discourse on the non-advisability of cow-slaughter and we find the injunction "Let him not eat the flesh of the cow or the ox for, the cow and the ox doubtless support everything on earth."

The cow was used as a standard of value in purchasing articles even in this period.<sup>1110</sup> Moreover, bullocks were used for ploughing,<sup>1111</sup> for drawing waggons<sup>1112</sup> and carriages<sup>1113</sup> and for carrying loads.<sup>1114</sup>

(2) *The buffalo*—In addition to its milk, the flesh of the buffalo was probably eaten. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1115</sup> recommends the slaughter of buffaloes for the Aśwamedha sacrifice; so also the White Yajurveda.<sup>1116</sup>

\* Daivyāḥ śamitāraḥ uta manusyā āravadhvaṃ. Upanayata medhyā durāḥ. Aśāsānāmedhapativyāṃ medhaṃ, etc.

† Gyathātaḥ sabanīyasya paśorbibhāgaṃ byākhyāsyāraḥ etc.

<sup>1104</sup> III. 1. 2. 21.

<sup>1105</sup> II. 7. 11. 1.

<sup>1106</sup> III. 1. 2. 21 = Vedic Index, II. 145.

<sup>1107</sup> I. 3. 4.

<sup>1108</sup> Vaj. I. 109.

<sup>1109</sup> III. 1. 2. 3.

<sup>1110</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 6.

<sup>1111</sup> Black Yajurveda, V. 2. 5. 2.

<sup>1112</sup> Ibid., V. 6. 21.

<sup>1113</sup> Ibid., V. 6. 21.

<sup>1114</sup> White Yajurveda, XXIV. 13.

<sup>1115</sup> Books II and III.

<sup>1116</sup> Book XXIV. 28.



The dung of buffaloes was used as fuel for protection against cold.<sup>1117</sup>  
 (3) *The horse*—Horses were used in battle<sup>1118</sup> and in horse—racing.<sup>1119</sup>  
 From the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1120</sup> we learn that Kamboja, Bahlika and Sind were famous for horses. Horses were sometimes given to priests as a sacrificial fee.<sup>1121</sup> (4) *The donkey*—In addition to the horse, the donkey was also used for drawing chariots and waggons and for carrying loads. The story of the race won by the Aświns with a chariot drawn by donkeys is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1122</sup> (5) *Mule*—The hardiness of mules is praised and their sterility dwelt upon and explained in some of the Brāhmaṇas. They were mainly used for drawing cars,<sup>1123</sup> and waggons and carrying loads. (6) *The camel*—Camels were objects of gift<sup>1124</sup> and of sacrifice.<sup>1125</sup> In the Atharvaveda<sup>1126</sup> we read of “camels that draw the car.” (7) *The goat*—It was an object of sacrifice in the Aśwamedha,<sup>1127</sup> to Indra<sup>1128</sup> to the Aświns,<sup>1129</sup> to Puṣan,<sup>1130</sup> and to Vāyu.<sup>1131</sup> Its flesh was used as food,<sup>1132</sup> milk as drink<sup>1133</sup> and skin as clothing.<sup>1134</sup> (8) *Sheep*—The flesh of sheep was used as food,<sup>1135</sup> milk as drink and wool as a material for cloth. In the Atharvaveda kambalas<sup>1136</sup> and Śamulyas<sup>1137</sup> are described as ordinary outfits of men and women and were probably made of

1117 Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 99th sarga.

1118 White Yajurveda, XXIX. 38—39.

1119 Atharvaveda, II. 14. 6.

1121 White Yajurveda, VII. 47.

1122 Atharvaveda, VIII. 8. 22.

1123 Ibid., XX. 127. 1—2.

1124 White Yajurveda, XXIV. 28 and 29; Black Yajurveda, V. 6. 21.

1125 XX. 127. 2.

1126 White Yajurveda, XXIV. 16, 32.

1127 Ibid., XXVIII. 23.

1128 Ibid., XXI. 40, 41, 46, 47, 59.

1129 Ibid., XXVIII. 23, 27.

1130 Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 281 fu.

1131 Atharvaveda, IX. 5. 4.

1132 “The milk of goat is the highest form of draught”—Black Yajurveda, V. 1. 7.

1133 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 9. 1. 12; V. 2. 1. 21, 24; Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVII. 14—16; cf. Atharvaveda, IV. 7. 6.

1134 Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

1135 XIV. 2. 66, 67.

1136 XIV. 1. 25 = Rigveda, X. 85. 29.



sheep's wool. Cloths made of āvika, sheep's wool are clearly mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>1138</sup> Acceptance of sheep has been described as having bad effects in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1139</sup> The sheep seems to have been used in drawing the plough, though the commentator takes sheep to mean 'small oxen like sheep.'<sup>1140</sup> (9) *The ass*—The ass has been described as "the best burden-gatherer of animals."<sup>1141</sup> They are also described as drawing the car of the Aświns.<sup>1142</sup> (10) *Swine*—The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the origin of the boar and refers to its fat and the sandals made of its skin.<sup>1143</sup> The Atharvaveda<sup>1144</sup> refers to its extraordinary quickness at discovering and unearthing all sorts of edible roots. The boar was an object of sacrifice to Indra.<sup>1145</sup> (11) *Elephants*—Elephant-keepers are mentioned in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1146</sup> There is a hymn in the Atharvaveda<sup>1147</sup> whose subject is the taming of elephants and of training them up for the king to ride. From the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1148</sup> we learn that the elephants of the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions were famous for their large size and great length. Hides of elephants are also mentioned.<sup>1149</sup>

**Hunting and Fishing**—Hunting remained the occupation of a large section of the people.<sup>1150</sup> No doubt the forest tribes resorted to hunting mainly for obtaining food but the people in general as well would resort to hunting not only for the pleasure and excitement which it afforded but also on economic grounds, as the frequent slaughter of domestic animals would reduce the livestock before long. Hunting down wild beasts was also necessary for the protection of cattle. The wild dog was tamed mainly for the purpose of assisting the people in the hunt.

1138 Rāmāyaṇa, Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

1139 II. 2. 6. 3: 'the nature of the sheep he accepts who accepts a sheep'.

1140 Black Yajurveda, V. 6. 21.

1141 Ibid., V. 1. 5. 5.

1142 White Yajurveda, XI. 13; XXV. 44.

1143 V. 4. 3. 19.

1144 II. 27. 2; V. 14. 1; VIII. 7. 23.

1145 White Yajurveda, XXIV. 40.

1146 XXX. 11.

1147 III. 22.

1148 Bālakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

1149 Atharvaveda, XX. 131. 23.

1150 White Yajurveda, XVI. 27; XXX. 7.

The Atharvaveda<sup>1151</sup> refers to the hunting of boars with the help of hounds. The arrow was sometimes employed but the normal instruments of capture were nets and pitfalls. The word ākhaḥ occurs in the Black Yajurveda<sup>1152</sup> which is taken by Śāyana as a pit artificially made where the hunter could lie in wait at a convenient distance for shooting.<sup>1153</sup> The net called jāla<sup>1154</sup> which was fastened on pegs<sup>1155</sup> was used for capturing wild birds and beasts. The hunting of the deer<sup>1156</sup> and antelope<sup>1157</sup> with the help of the bow and the arrow is referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa.

Fishing became the main occupation of a section of the population. The fisherman fishing in rivers<sup>1158</sup> and in lakes<sup>1159</sup> and the fishvender<sup>1160</sup> are mentioned. Of fish the Nirāla is mentioned in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1161</sup> Of aquatic animals crabs (kakkata) and tortoises (kurma)<sup>1162</sup> are mentioned. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1163</sup> describes the kaśyapa (which is identified with kurma), a sacred animal, a form of Prajāpati from which all beings sprang up, though we do not learn that the kaśyapa was worshipped or eaten sacramentally.<sup>1164</sup>

The word kṛśana, meaning a pearl occurs in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1165</sup> The belief mentioned by Dioscorides and Pliny — a belief also prevalent among the Persians — that pearls are formed by drops of rain falling into the oyster-shells when open is recorded in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1166</sup> Pearls seem to have been fished in large quantities for, we find that they were

<sup>1151</sup> XX. 126. 4.

<sup>1152</sup> 4. 11. 3.

<sup>1153</sup> The word is mentioned in Pāṇini, III. 3. 125, Vārtt. 1, while Pāṇini himself gives ākhana.

<sup>1154</sup> Atharvaveda, X. 1. 30.

<sup>1155</sup> Ibid., VIII. 8. 5.

<sup>1156</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

<sup>1157</sup> Ibid., Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga.

<sup>1158</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 8.

<sup>1159</sup> Ibid., XXX. 16.

<sup>1160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1161</sup> VI. 16. 3.

<sup>1162</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 4. 16 ; Black Yajurveda, V. 2. 8. 4—5.

<sup>1163</sup> VIII. 5. 1. 5.

<sup>1164</sup> Keith — Black Yajurveda, Introduction, C XXI.

<sup>1165</sup> IV. 10. 1, 3 ; XX. 16. 11.

<sup>1166</sup> IV. 10.



used by men and women not only for the beautification of their persons but also for adorning their horses.<sup>1167</sup> Amulets of the shell of pearl-oyster were also worn by the people as a protection against disease and indigence.<sup>1168</sup>

**Progress in arts and crafts**—In keeping with its wider geographical outlook and its growth of towns this period is marked by a striking development of industrial life and the subdivision of occupations caused by the ever-increasing needs of the townpeople and the agricultural and military requirements of a community settled in the midst of a hostile population. Among the more important industries of this period we may mention the following :—

(1) **Weaving**—Technical terms connected with weaving like *otu* (woof),<sup>1169</sup> *lantu* (yarn, threads),<sup>1170</sup> *annuhāda*<sup>1171</sup> or *prācinātāna*<sup>1172</sup> (forward stretched web) are frequently mentioned. The *vemān* (loom)<sup>1173</sup> and the *mayūṭha*<sup>1174</sup> meaning wooden pegs to stretch the web on or shuttle are mentioned in simile :

“Like shuttle through the loom the steady ferment mixes  
The red juice with the foaming spirit.”<sup>1175</sup>

And in the Atharvaveda we read :

“Singly the two young maids of different colours  
Approach the six-pegged warp in turns and weave it.”<sup>1176</sup>

Day and Night are compared here to two young maids, the six regions of the world to the six wooden pegs : Dawn weaves the luminous weft of

<sup>1167</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 16. 11.

<sup>1168</sup> Ibid., IV. 10. 3.

<sup>1169</sup> Ibid., XIV. 2. 51 ; White Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 4.

<sup>1170</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 2. 51 ; cf. XV. 3. 6 ; Kāthaka Samhitā, XXIII. 1.

<sup>1171</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13 ff.

<sup>1172</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 3 ff.

<sup>1173</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 83 ; Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, III. 11. 9 ; Kāthaka Samhitā, XLIII. 3 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, II. 1. 4. 2.

<sup>1174</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 80.

<sup>1175</sup> White Yajurveda, XIX. 83.

<sup>1176</sup> Atharvaveda, X. 7. 42.



Day and Night removes it from the loom. The use of a large number of words for cloth and for its different parts presupposes a fully developed and long established indigenous weaving industry. For cloth we have the words *vastra*,<sup>1177</sup> *vāsas*<sup>1178</sup> and *vasana*.<sup>1179</sup> The *sic* meaning the border or fringe occurs in the Atharvaveda<sup>1180</sup> where the child is covered by its mother's *sic* and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1181</sup> where a deer horn is tied in the sacrificer's *sic*. *Daśā* meaning border or fringe occurs in the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1182</sup> The wider border is specially designated *nīvi*,<sup>1183</sup> the closely woven end of the cloth — from which depends the *praghāta*<sup>1184</sup> or the strikers, the loose long unwoven fringe with swaying tassels. The *vāsas* has only one *nīvi* usually, as now, the other end of the cloth being much plainer : to this plainer end would belong the *tūṣa*,<sup>1185</sup> (the chaffs), a shorter fringe corresponding to the modern *chilkā*. The *vātapāna*<sup>1186</sup> descriptive of the *vāsas* as part of it, obviously cannot mean 'a garment to protect against winds' : it is rather that part of the cloth which protects it against winds, *i. e.*, its lengthwise borders<sup>1187</sup> which keep the web together from becoming thread-bare by fluttering in the wind (specially during movements). The *āroḥāḥ*<sup>1188</sup> (or 'the brilliants') seem to have been

<sup>1177</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 3 ; IX. 5. 25 ; XII. 3. 21.

<sup>1178</sup> White Yajurveda, II. 32 ; XI. 40 : Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 9. 7 ; VI. 1. 11. 2 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I. 3.

<sup>1179</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad VIII. 8. 5 ; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, II. 15.

<sup>1180</sup> XVIII. 3. 50 = Rigveda, X. 13. 11.

<sup>1181</sup> III. 2. 1. 18.

<sup>1182</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 3. 2. 9 ; cf. IV. 2. 2. 11 ; I. 1. 2. 8 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 32.

<sup>1183</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 2. 16 ; Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 3 ff. ; Kāthaka Samhitā, XIII. 1. ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13 ff.

<sup>1184</sup> Ibid. The *antāḥ* of Atharvaveda, XIV. 2. 51, is clearly = *praghāta*.

<sup>1185</sup> Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 1. 1 ; II. 4. 9. 1 ; VI. 1. 1. 3 ; Kāthaka Samhitā, XIII. 1 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I. 6. 1. 8 ; Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVII. 1. That *tūṣa* = chaff, like lashes is evident from its dedication to Agni.

<sup>1186</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 3 ff. ; *vātapā* : Kāthaka Samhitā, XXIII. 1.

<sup>1187</sup> Probably preserved in the *batan* (= border) of the Bengal weavers *e. g.*, in *golā-batan* cloths ; also in vernacular 'bātā', split bamboo, used in strengthening borders of thatches etc.

<sup>1188</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13 ff. : *āroḥāḥ* : Kāthaka Samhitā, XXIII. 1 ; compare the classification of shawls as *ek-roḥā* and *du-roḥā* according to the nature of their embroidered patterns.

flowers, stars or other spotty patterns embroidered all over the cloth,<sup>1189</sup> corresponding to modern *phul*, *butā* etc.

The *vāsas* was always tied or girt (*nah*)<sup>1190</sup> which implies tucks and knots. The idiom *nīvimṣṛ*<sup>1191</sup> shows that each individual wore the *nīvi* in his or her own way. The *nīvi*-knot was sometimes so fashioned as to form a pouch, wherein magic herbs could be borne.<sup>1192</sup> Sometimes also the *nīvi* consisted of simply two tuckings up (*udgūhana*)<sup>1193</sup> at the sides (as now, with men). Elsewhere women are said to tie their *nīvi* on the right side of the hip; such *nīvi* must have been an ampler gather of folds and fringe-tassels, for there a bundle of *bahris* represents the *nīvi*.<sup>1194</sup> It seems probable that no part of the broad border was left for covering the bosom and shoulders and the early sculptures, etc., do not show it. Apparently the upper part of the body was covered by another separate garment called *adhivāsa*.<sup>1194</sup> The *adhivāsa* seems to have been an 'over-garment', worn by princes over their inner and upper garments.<sup>1195</sup> We have already seen that in the *Rigveda*<sup>1196</sup> the forests are described as the *adhivāsa* of mother-earth licked by the fire-child. It was thus more like a long loose-flowing dressing-gown, suiting both men and women<sup>1197</sup> and not a close-fitting garment as the authors of the *Vedic Index* have taken it to be. It may not, however, have been a tailor-made garment at all being called a *vāsas*.<sup>1198</sup> The *drāpi*<sup>1199</sup> seems to have

<sup>1189</sup> So also they are dedicated to the *nakṣatras*, stars.

<sup>1190</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XIV. 2. 70.

<sup>1191</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII. 2. 16 (what *nīvi* thou makest for thyself?); *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 6. 2. 20; XIV. 2. 49—50. It is possible, however, to see in 'yat te *vāsaḥ paridhānam*, *yām nīvim kṛṇṣe tvam*, a reference to the ordinary wearing cloth and a separate woven strip to serve as waist-band and this separation of the *nīvi* is also shown in quite early sculptures, etc. But even in that case *nīvi* would be an outer adjunct and not an inner garment as taken by the authors of the *Vedic Index*.

<sup>1192</sup> *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 6. 20.

<sup>1193</sup> *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2. 1. 15.

<sup>1194</sup> *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 4. 4. 3.

<sup>1195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1196</sup> I. 140. 9.

<sup>1197</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 140. 9 (*mātub*); cf. *Rigveda*, X. 5. 4. <sup>1198</sup> *Rigveda*, I. 162. 16.

<sup>1199</sup> According to the authors of the *Vedic Index* *drāpi* is a coat of mail.

been a gold-embroidered<sup>1200</sup> vest.<sup>1201</sup> *Peśa*, is gold-embroidered cloth generally<sup>1202</sup> with artistic designs.<sup>1203</sup> The *pratidhi* must from the context<sup>1204</sup> refer to a part of the bride's attire, apart from the newly woven, excellent garment.<sup>1205</sup> The *uṣṇīṣa*, head-dress occurs for the first time in the Atharvaveda<sup>1206</sup> and often in the Yajurveda Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas chiefly in connection with the Vratyas<sup>1207</sup> and kings.<sup>1208</sup> The Vratya *uṣṇīṣa* was bright and white as day,<sup>1209</sup> so that it might well have been of some fine cotton-stuff. According to Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra<sup>1210</sup> the *uṣṇīṣa* was tied with a tilt and cross windings (*tiryañ-naddham*). At sacrificial ceremonies, however, the king's *uṣṇīṣa* was tied in a special manner: the ends were gathered together and tucked away in front, so as to cover them up.<sup>1211</sup> Elsewhere in ritual the *uṣṇīṣa* was a mere handkerchief<sup>1212</sup>; so also Indrāṇi wears an *uṣṇīṣa* like a Zone, of variegated hue<sup>1213</sup>—clearly a multi-coloured kerchief.

Among the materials used in the weaving of cloth wool was one. *Urṇā* was the hairy covering of any animal while *āvika* in the sense of sheep's wool occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.<sup>1214</sup> Threads of wool are mentioned in the white Yajurveda,<sup>1215</sup> Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā<sup>1216</sup> and the

1200 *Hiranya-drāpi* worn by Arāti in Atharvaveda, V. 7. 10.

1201 Atharvaveda, XIII. 3. 1 where the Sun wearing the three worlds is described as making a *drāpi* of them. Hence the *drāpi* seems to have three pieces, two side ones and one back, like a waist-coat. The fact that it was worn by women as well (Atharvaveda, V. 7. 10) and the use of '*vasānaḥ*' (*drāpiṃ vasānaḥ* in Rigveda, IX. 86. 14) would show that it was not a coat of mail but was made of *vāsa*, cloth.

1202 White Yajurveda, XIX. 82, 83, 89.

1203 Ibid., XX. 41 where the design is compared to the poet's songs.

1204 Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 8.

1205 Ibid., XIV. 1. 7. 45.

1206 XV. 2. 1 ff.

1207 Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVI. 6. 13; XVII. 1. 14.

1208 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 5. 23 (King at sacrifices); XIV. 2. 1. 18 (Indrāṇi); III. 3. 2. 3. (King 'Soma'); Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā IV. 4. 3 (Kṣatra at sacrifices); Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 1. 4; Kāthaka Samhitā, XIII. 10.

1209 Atharvaveda, XV. 2.

1210 XXI. 4.

1211 *Samhṛītya purastād avaguhyaṭi* in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 5. 20ff.

1212 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, IV. 5. 2. 2. 7. Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 3. 2. 3.

1213 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 2. 1. 8.

1214 II. 3. 6.

1215 XIX. 80.

1216 III. 11. 9.



Kāthaka Samhitā<sup>1217</sup>; while Kambala<sup>1218</sup> (blanket) and sāmulya (under-garment of wool ?) are mentioned in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1219</sup>

A more common material for weaving cloth for ritual use was linen or silk. The tārpya<sup>1220</sup> with which the dead body is clothed in order that the dead may go about properly dressed in the realm of Yama<sup>1221</sup> is a silken garment according to Goldstücker while others take it to mean linen. If the commentator has any basis for its explanation 'made from Trpa or Triparnā leaves', these would refer to mulberry leaves or other leaves suitable for silk-cocoons. According to Professor Subimal Chandra Sarkar<sup>1222</sup> the 'uttuda' in Atharvaveda, III. 25.1. probably means 'sprung from 'tuda' or mulberry i.e., silken (coverlet). The Kṣauma which according to Max Müller means a linen cloth occurs in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā<sup>1223</sup> and in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1224</sup> The Atharvaveda<sup>1225</sup> refers to Śana, hemp as growing in the forest but we do not know whether its fibre was used as a material for weaving cloth. Garments made of bark, so frequent in later literature are rarely mentioned in Vedic texts; probably the 'barāsi' of Kāthaka Samhitā<sup>1226</sup> was a barked stuff; and it is interesting to note in this connection that the Kāthakas lived in the North-Western and sub-Himalayan regions where the Barās tree, a red-flowered rhododendron is still fabled to yield cloths.

No doubt, the word karpāsa (meaning cotton from the cotton plants of the genus Gossypium with its typical convoluted structure) does not occur either in the Rigveda or in later Vedic literature proper; but we have already seen that the Babylonian and Greek names for cotton—

<sup>1217</sup> XXXVIII. 3.

<sup>1218</sup> In vernacular proverbs and folk-lore the kambala is made of loma, hair. Compare Tamil, 'Kam (p) ali = rough hair-cloth.

<sup>1219</sup> XIV. 2. 66, 67 (Kambala); XIV. 1. 25 (Sāmulya).

<sup>1220</sup> Black Yajurveda, II. 4. 11. 6; Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, IV. 4. 3; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 3. 7. 1.; I. 7. 6. 4; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 5. 20; Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, XV. 5. 7.

<sup>1221</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 31.

<sup>1222</sup> Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, p. 62 fn.

<sup>1223</sup> III. 6. 7.

<sup>1224</sup> VI. 1. 1. 3.

<sup>1225</sup> II. 4. 5.

<sup>1226</sup> XV. 4; also Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XVIII. 9. 6; XXI. 3. 4.

Sind and Sindon respectively—have always pointed to Sind as the home of cotton-growing and that cotton as weaving material was known early in the Chalcolithic Age to the people of Sind as proved by the discovery at Mohenzo-daro of karpāsa and of even scraps of a fine woven cotton material. The word karpāsa does, however, occur in the Aśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra which was composed not later than the eighth century B. C. towards the close of the Brāhmaṇa Period when the Aryans came to occupy the cotton-growing districts lying far into the interior of country.

From the Rāmāyaṇa we find that the weaving industry was carried to its perfection. We hear of beddings decorated with gold,<sup>1227</sup> coverlets decked with gems and jewels,<sup>1228</sup> coverlet decorated with gold<sup>1229</sup> coverlet or carpet (āstarāṇa) decorated with gold and silver<sup>1230</sup> coverlet or carpet (āstarāṇa) dyed with the colour of lac (lākṣā-rāga-rañjita),<sup>1231</sup> gold-embroidered dress (worn by king Rāvaṇa),<sup>1232</sup> cloth decorated with designs (citra-vastra) presented by Kekayarāja Yudhājit to king Rāma of Ajodhyā<sup>1233</sup> and blankets with variegated designs on them.<sup>1234</sup>

Garments were a favourite article of gift to Brahmins and dependents. King Daśaratha is described as the giver of garments.<sup>1235</sup> As the funeral procession of Daśaratha proceeded to the cremation grounds, garments were freely distributed among the people.<sup>1236</sup> At the śrādhā ceremony of Daśaratha Brahmins were lavishly presented with white cloths.<sup>1237</sup> King Janaka's marriage-dowry to his daughters included among others blankets, silk or linen garments and ordinary cloth.<sup>1238</sup> On the eve of her departure for the Daṇḍaka forest Sītā under the advice of her husband gave away all her best garments first to the Brahmins and then to her servants.<sup>1239</sup>

Kṣauma is frequently mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. We find Kauśalyā dressed in kṣauma in pūjā time.<sup>1240</sup> The beauty of the hump-backed

1227 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

1228 Lankākāṇḍa 11th sarga.

1231 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 23rd sarga.

1232 Uttarakāṇḍa, 113th sarga.

1233 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 77th sarga.

1237 Ibid., 77th sarga.

1238 Bālakāṇḍa, 74th sarga : 'Kambalānāṇcha mukhyānām kṣaumyān kotyambarāṇi cha'.

1239 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

1228 Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1230 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 88th sarga.

1232 Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1234 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

1236 Ibid., 76th sarga.

1240 Ibid., 4th sarga.



maid-servant Mantharā increased whenever she wore kṣauma.<sup>1241</sup> On the occasion of Rāma's proposed consecration as Yuvarāja his mother Kauśalyā wore kṣauma.<sup>1242</sup> On this occasion Rāma himself was dressed in kṣauma.<sup>1243</sup> On this occasion even the nurses of the royal palace of Ajodhyā were dressed in kṣauma.<sup>1244</sup> King Janaka's marriage-dowry to his daughters included a large quantity of kṣauma.<sup>1245</sup> Daśaratha's queens were clad in kṣauma when they welcomed their newly married daughters-in-law and led them to the temple.<sup>1246</sup> Leaving aside his usual dress and weapons Bharata before entering the hermitage of Varadwāja wore kṣauma as befitting such an occasion.<sup>1247</sup> When Rāvaṇa was cremated his dead body was dressed with kṣauma.<sup>1248</sup> It thus becomes apparent that in the age of Rāmāyaṇa kṣauma was specially used on ceremonial occasions.

Blankets (made of wool) were also used. Blanket-makers (kambalākāra) followed Bharata when he left Ajodhyā to bring Rāma back from the forest.<sup>1249</sup> Blankets formed part of the marriage-dowry given by king Janaka to his daughters.<sup>1250</sup> Bharata received as present from his maternal grandfather multi-coloured blankets.<sup>1251</sup> Kekayarāja Yudhājit sent presents of kambalas to king Rāma of Ajodhyā.<sup>1252</sup> In the palatial houses built by Maya in the Golden Forest Hanumāna saw innumerable blankets of variegated designs stored up.<sup>1253</sup> When Hanumāna set fire to the city of Lankā many blankets and cloth made of āvika, sheep's wool along with kṣauma were reduced to ashes.<sup>1254</sup>

Silk cloths (kaūṣeya) are also frequently mentioned. On the occasion of Rāma's proposed consecration as Yuvarāja the streets of Ajodhyā were overspread with patta-vastra and kaūṣeya.<sup>1255</sup> On the eve of his departure for the Dāṇḍaka forest Rāma gave away kaūṣeya cloths to an ācārya.<sup>1256</sup>

1241 Ibid., 9th sarga.

1242 Ibid., 20th sarga.

1243 Ibid., 6th sarga.

1244 Ibid., 7th sarga.

1245 Bālakāṇḍa, 74th sarga.

1246 Ibid., 77th sarga.

1247 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 90th sarga.

1248 Lankākāṇḍa, 113th sarga.

1249 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.

1250 Bālakāṇḍa, 74th sarga.

1251 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 70th sarga.

1252 Uttarakāṇḍa, 113th sarga.

1253 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.

1254 Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

1255 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 17th sarga.

1256 Ibid., 82nd sarga.



Sitā used to wear kauṣeya in the royal palace in Ajōdhyā.<sup>1257</sup> On Daśa-ratha's death Vaśiṣṭha sent messengers with presents of kauṣeya to Bharata to bring him back from his maternal grandfather's palace in the Kekaya kingdom.<sup>1258</sup> Bharata in the course of his search for Rāma found silken threads (kauṣeya-tantu) of Sitā's dress sticking to the grass over which she slept in the forest.<sup>1259</sup> Sitā used to wear yellow silken cloth (pīta-kauṣeya) while at Pañchavati forest.<sup>1260</sup> While she was being carried away by Rāvaṇa Sitā threw away her silken upper garment of golden hue (kanaka-dyuti-kauṣeya-uttariya) at the five monkeys so that they may give a clue to Rāma about her whereabouts.<sup>1261</sup> Even in the Aśoka forest Hanumāna found Sitā wearing her self-same yellowish silk-dress.<sup>1262</sup>

(2) Metal industry—The advance of civilisation is also seen in the more extended knowledge and use of metals and in the large number of mining industries of the period. Besides gold<sup>1263</sup> and ayas<sup>1264</sup> known in the Rigvedic Age, the Atharvaveda mentions silver,<sup>1265</sup> tin (trapu),<sup>1266</sup> lead (sīsa)<sup>1267</sup> and śyāma, occurring along with asi, meaning a sword.<sup>1268</sup> In a passage of the White Yajurveda we find a list of six metals then known. :

“Hiraṇyaṃ chame ayaschame śyāmaṃ chame  
lohaṃ chame sīsaṃ chame trapu chame.”<sup>1269</sup>

‘May my gold, my ayas, my iron (śyāma), my copper (loha), my lead (sīsa) and my tin (trapu) prosper by sacrifice. Elsewhere in the White Yajurveda

<sup>1257</sup> Ibid., 37th sarga.

<sup>1258</sup> Ibid., 68th sarga.

<sup>1259</sup> Ibid., 88th sarga.

<sup>1260</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 47th, 52nd and 60th sargas.

<sup>1261</sup> Ibid., 54th sarga.

<sup>1262</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1263</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 35. 1, 3; II. 36. 7; V. 1. 3; V. 28. 1, 5; VI. 69. 1; VI. 124. 3; VII. 14. 2; IX. 5. 14, 25, 26, 29; XII. 1. 44; XIV. 1. 40; XVIII. 3. 18; XVIII. 4. 58; XIX. 26. 1; XIX. 27. 9, 10;

XIX. 57. 5; XX. 57. 16; XX. 131. 6, 8; XX. 127. 3; XX. 128. 6.

<sup>1264</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 28. 1, 5; VI. 63. 2, 3; VI. 84. 3; VI. 141. 2; VII. 115. 1; VIII. 2. 2; XIX. 58. 4; XIX. 66; XX. 20. 3.

<sup>1265</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 28. 1, 5; XIII. 4. 51.

<sup>1266</sup> Atharvaveda, XI. 3. 8.

<sup>1267</sup> Atharvaveda, I. 16. 2, 4; XII. 2. 1, 19, 20, 53.

<sup>1268</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 5. 4.

<sup>1269</sup> White Yajurveda, XVIII. 13.

besides gold,<sup>1270</sup> ayas,<sup>1271</sup> lead<sup>1272</sup> and silver<sup>1273</sup> are mentioned. In the Black Yajurveda we have the story of the origin of silver. We are told that Agni carried off the booty gained by the Devas from the Asuras. Pursued by the gods he cried and his tears were converted into silver. The Black Yajurveda also gives us the self-same list of six metals preserved in the White Yajurveda in the following passage: "May for me.....gold, ayas, lead (śisa), tin (trapu), iron (śyāma), copper (loha) ..... prosper through the sacrifice."<sup>1274</sup> The Upaniṣads mention besides gold,<sup>1275</sup> silver,<sup>1276</sup> lead,<sup>1277</sup> tin,<sup>1278</sup> loha<sup>1279</sup> and lavaṇa.<sup>1280</sup> According to Maxmüller lavaṇa is "a kind of kṣāra or tanka or tankana. It is evidently borax which is still imported from the East Indies under the name of tincal, and used as a flux in chemical processes."<sup>1281</sup>

The Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana<sup>1282</sup> narrates the mythological origin of gold, silver, copper, iron, tin (raṅga) and lead out of the womb of Gangā, the daughter of the Himalayas. The Himalayas are described as containing all kinds of metal.<sup>1283</sup> Mines of metals on hill-sides are referred to in the Ajodhyākāṇḍa.<sup>1284</sup> We find Rāma showing to Sitā the beauty of Chitrakūṭa hill, adorned with mines of metals of white, red and yellow

- 1270 White Yajurveda, IV. 17; IV. 26;  
V. 15; VII. 45; X. 15; X. 25;  
XII. 1; XII. 3; XIII. 3, 4, 28, 39;  
XVII. 11, 71; XX. 1; XX. 2;  
XXIII. 37.  
1271 Ibid., V. 8; XII. 63; XXVI. 26;  
XXIX. 20.  
1272 Ibid., X. 14; XIX. 80; XXIII. 37.  
1273 Ibid., V. 8; XXIII. 37; XX. 2;  
XXXVII. 11.  
1274 Black Yajurveda, IV. 7. 5. Compare  
Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XVIII. 10;  
Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā, XXVIII. 10;  
Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, II. 11. 5;  
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XVIII.  
13-15.  
1275 Kathopaniṣad, I. 1. 23; Bṛhadāraṇyaka-

- kopaniṣad I. 3. 26; VI. 2. 7;  
cf. I. 1. 2; III. 1. 1; IV. 4. 4;  
VI. 4. 25; Chāndogyaopaniṣad, IV.  
17. 7; V. 10. 9; VII. 24. 2;  
VIII. 12. 5; Aitareya Āraṇyaka,  
III. 2. 4. 17.  
1276 Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, I. 1. 2;  
Chāndogyaopaniṣad, IV. 17. 7.  
1277 Chāndogyaopaniṣad, IV. 17. 7.  
1278 Ibid.  
1279 Ibid.  
1280 Ibid.  
1281 Sacred Books of the East, Vol. I.  
p. 71 fn.  
1282 37th sarga.  
1283 Bālakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.  
1284 63rd sarga.



colour.<sup>1285</sup> Bharata while marching with his army by the side of Chitra-kūta in search of Rāma, saw on the hill-slopes minerals of various kinds like gairika etc.<sup>1286</sup> Rāvaṇa on reaching the mountaneous southern sea-coast of the Deccan found the sea-shore strewn with dried up pearls and corals.<sup>1287</sup> On account of the coppery colour of his waist Hanumāna is described as a hill adorned with a newly worked up mine of gairika.<sup>1288</sup> Blood coming out of the wounded body of Bāli is compared to water oozing out of mines of copper and gairika on the body of the hill.<sup>1289</sup> There were mines of different kinds in Ajodhyā as well.<sup>1290</sup> On Sudarśana hill among the Himālayas there was a mine of gold.<sup>1291</sup> The Ayomukha mountain otherwise known Malayāchal by whose side the river Kāveri flows is adorned with mines of different metals.<sup>1292</sup> Silver mines in which Sita is to be searched for are also mentioned.<sup>1293</sup>

In the Rāmāyana besides gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin we find mention of various other mineral products like gairika,<sup>1294</sup> sudhā,<sup>1295</sup> avra (mica),<sup>1296</sup> sphatika (crystal)<sup>1297</sup> and diamonds.<sup>1298</sup>

In the literature of this period we find references not only to the goldsmith<sup>1299</sup> but also to his work: "As a goldsmith taking a piece of gold turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape so does the Self, after having thrown off this body and dispelled ignorance, makes unto himself another, newer and more beautiful shape."<sup>1300</sup> The melting of gold in fire for purification<sup>1301</sup> and the softening of gold by means of

<sup>1285</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 94th sarga.

<sup>1286</sup> Ibid., 113th sarga.

<sup>1287</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th sarga.

<sup>1288</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1289</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga.

<sup>1290</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

<sup>1291</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

<sup>1292</sup> Ibid., 41st sarga.

<sup>1293</sup> Ibid., 39th sarga.

<sup>1294</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 113th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1295</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga; Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 7th sarga.

<sup>1296</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1297</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th and 10th sargas; Lankākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1298</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa 55th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 7th and 77th sargas.

<sup>1299</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 17; Rāmāyana, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1300</sup> Bhṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, IV. 4. 4.

<sup>1301</sup> Rāmāyana, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 24th sarga.



lavaṇa (borax)<sup>1302</sup> are mentioned. The use of gold in exchange, in sacrifice as well as in the manufacture of ornaments and of sundry other articles for domestic use lends colour to the view that there must have been sources of local supply of gold. Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>1303</sup> are of opinion that in those days gold was obtained from the bed of rivers, though the extraction of gold from earth was not unknown.<sup>1304</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1305</sup> we are told by Rāma that princes go to the forest on hunting excursions partly no doubt for the joys of the chase and partly for the flesh it will fetch but in that connection they search with great care for various metals, gems and precious stones and for gold. Washing for gold is recorded in the Black Yajurveda<sup>1306</sup> Kāṭhaka Samhitā,<sup>1307</sup> Kapisthala Samhitā<sup>1308</sup> Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā<sup>1309</sup> and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1310</sup>

We frequently hear of various golden media of exchange like Hiranya-kṛṣṇala,<sup>1311</sup> Suvarṇa,<sup>1312</sup> gold pieces,<sup>1313</sup> Pādas of gold,<sup>1314</sup> Śatamaṇa<sup>1315</sup> and Niṣkas.<sup>1316</sup> Chips of gold used in sacrifice<sup>1317</sup> a circular gold disc or plate with 21 knobs used in sacrifice,<sup>1318</sup> golden needles with which are marked out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the dissector's knife is to follow,<sup>1319</sup> golden figure of Prajāpati, Agni, the Sacrificer technically known as hiranyagarva,<sup>1320</sup> gold on the priest's finger,<sup>1321</sup> gold given as fee to the priest,<sup>1322</sup> sacrificial cauldron with gold-

<sup>1302</sup> Chāndogya Upaniṣad, IV. 17. 7.

<sup>1303</sup> Vedic Index, II. p. 504.

<sup>1304</sup> Atharvaveda, XII. 1. 6.

<sup>1305</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

<sup>1306</sup> VI. 1. 7. 1.

<sup>1307</sup> XXIV. 3.

<sup>1308</sup> XXXVII. 4.

<sup>1309</sup> III. 7. 5. 6.

<sup>1310</sup> II. 1. 1. 5. ; III. 2. 4. 9-21.

<sup>1311</sup> Kāṭhaka Samhitā, XI. 4 ; cf. Black Yajurveda, II. 3. 2. 1. ; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 3. 6. 7 ; Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, II. 2. 2.

<sup>1312</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII. 7. 2. 13.

<sup>1313</sup> White Yajurveda, IV. 26.

<sup>1314</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇḍa XIV ; Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, I. 1. 1.

<sup>1315</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 3. 24, 26 ; XII. 7. 2. 13 ; XIII. 2. 3. 2 ; V. 5. 5. 16 ; Black Yajurveda, II. 3. 11. 5 ; III. 2. 6. 3.

<sup>1316</sup> Atharvaveda, V. 14. 3 ; V. 17. 14 ; XX. 131. 8 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 22.

<sup>1317</sup> Atharvaveda, XVII. 11, 71

<sup>1318</sup> White Yajurveda, X. 25 ; XII. 1, 12.

<sup>1319</sup> White Yajurveda. XXIII. 35, 37.

<sup>1320</sup> Ibid., XIII. 4, 16, 38 ; Black Yajurveda, IV. 1. 8 ; IV. 2. 8 ; V. 2. 7.

<sup>1321</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 3. 18 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 3. 2. 2.

<sup>1322</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 5. 14.

en handles,<sup>1323</sup> golden vessel for Aśwamedha called Mahiman,<sup>1324</sup> and a ladle of pure gold<sup>1325</sup> are mentioned. In the Rāmāyaṇa we read of golden utensils,<sup>1326</sup> golden vase for containing water,<sup>1327</sup> golden pitchers,<sup>1328</sup> golden pots,<sup>1329</sup> golden water-pots used by ascetics,<sup>1330</sup> golden lamps,<sup>1331</sup> golden bedstead, golden bedstead decked with jewels,<sup>1332</sup> bedstead adorned with gold,<sup>1333</sup> seats made of gold,<sup>1334</sup> golden trappings for elephants,<sup>1335</sup> fly-flapper (chīmara) with golden handles<sup>1336</sup> and decorated with white gems,<sup>1337</sup> golden throne,<sup>1338</sup> seats bedecked with gold (Kūchana-citrīta),<sup>1339</sup> altars made of gold,<sup>1340</sup> gates mounted with gold,<sup>1341</sup> gold-mounted arch of a gateway,<sup>1342</sup> golden chariots<sup>1343</sup> chariots mounted with gold and decked with jewels,<sup>1344</sup> pillars (of chariots) made of gold,<sup>1345</sup> windows (of chariots) made of gold<sup>1346</sup> golden stair case,<sup>1347</sup> gold-mounted windows,<sup>1348</sup> finger-guard (aṅgulī-trāṇa) overlaid with gold,<sup>1349</sup> golden hook or goad to drive an elephant,<sup>1350</sup>

1323 White Yajurveda, XXXIII. 19.

1324 Bṛhadāraṇyaka-pariśad, I. 1. 2.

1325 Ibid., VI. 4. 25.

1326 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga; Sundarākāṇḍa, 1st and 11th sargas; Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

1327 Suvarṇa Vīṅāra in Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

1328 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga; Sundarākāṇḍa, 10th and 11th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

1329 Ghata in Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 14th and 65th sargas.

1330 Swarnakamandalu in Sundarākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

1331 Sundarākāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

1332 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 16th and 19th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga.

1333 Sundarākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

1334 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 72nd sarga.

1335 Ibid., 10th, 72nd and 81st sargas; Sundarākāṇḍa, 1st and 11th sargas.

1336 Lankākāṇḍa, 129th sarga.

1337 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

1338 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th and 16th sargas.

1339 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

1340 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

1341 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1342 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga.

1343 Sundarākāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

1344 Bālākāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.

1345 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga; Aranyakākāṇḍa, 22nd sarga.

1346 Sundarākāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

1347 Ibid., 8th sarga.

1348 Ibid., 9th sarga.

1349 Ibid.

1350 Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 99th sarga.

1351 Bālākāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.



gold armour,<sup>1352</sup> weapons mounted with gold,<sup>1353</sup> sword decked with gold,<sup>1354</sup> sword with golden handles,<sup>1355</sup> bow decked with gold,<sup>1356</sup> shafts decked with gold,<sup>1357</sup> golden sheath for sword,<sup>1358</sup> golden image (of Sītā),<sup>1359</sup> golden figures of fish, flowers, trees, birds, mountains and stars engraved on chariots,<sup>1360</sup> golden images engraved on chariots,<sup>1361</sup> and golden images placed in the bed-chamber of Rāvaṇa's palace.<sup>1363</sup>

Golden ornaments are frequently mentioned.<sup>1364</sup> The word *alaṃkāra* does not occur in the four Vedas but the word *aṃja* or *aṃji* meaning ornaments does occur.<sup>1365</sup> The word *alaṃkāra* occurs for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1366</sup> and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.<sup>1367</sup> In the Atharvaveda the following ornaments are mentioned :—(1) *Tirita*<sup>1368</sup>— In Amarakoṣa it is explained as an ornament of the head (*mukutamāṇi* or *śirobhuṣaṇa*, a tiara-like ornament). (2) *Parihasta*<sup>1369</sup>— It was probably a bracelet or two connected rings regarded as one amulet.<sup>1370</sup> (3) *Pravarta*<sup>1371</sup>— It was an ornament, circular in shape, probably for the ears; (4) *Ring*<sup>1372</sup> (5) *Golden amulets*<sup>1373</sup> (6) *Necklace of niṣka-coins* as the term *niṣkagṛva*<sup>1374</sup> shows; (7) *Kurira*<sup>1375</sup>— According to Zimmer it means peacock. If this meaning is accepted, then *kurira* is a tiara-like ornament for the head.<sup>1376</sup> (8) *Kumba*<sup>1377</sup>— According to

<sup>1352</sup> Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.

<sup>1353</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1354</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 31st sarga; Aranya-kāṇḍa, 12th sarga.

<sup>1355</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 44th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

<sup>1356</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 47th sarga.

<sup>1357</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 3rd and 20th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga.

<sup>1358</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 12th sarga.

<sup>1359</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 112th sarga.

<sup>1360</sup> Aranyakāṇḍa, 22nd sarga.

<sup>1361</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1363</sup> Ibid., 9th sarga.

<sup>1368</sup> Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

<sup>1364</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 40; White Yajurveda, XV. 50; XVII. 97; XXXIV. 52.

<sup>1365</sup> Rigveda, I. 64. 4.

<sup>1366</sup> III. 5. 1. 36; XIII. 8. 4. 7.

<sup>1367</sup> VIII. 8. 5: Pretasya śarīraṃ vasa-nenālaṃkāreṇa saṃskurvanti.

<sup>1368</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 6. 7.

<sup>1369</sup> Ibid., VI. 81. 1, 2.

<sup>1370</sup> See Kauṣikasūtra, XXXV. 11.

<sup>1371</sup> Atharvaveda, XV. 2. 1.

<sup>1372</sup> Ibid., XX. 128. 6, 7.

<sup>1373</sup> Ibid., I. 35; V. 28; XIX. 26.

<sup>1374</sup> Ibid., V. 14. 3.

<sup>1375</sup> Ibid., VI. 138. 2; XIV. 1. 8.

<sup>1376</sup> Compare Āpastamva Śrāntasūtra: 'Kumba and Kurira on the patni's head' Prof. Subimal Sarkar in his Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India takes it to be a kind of horn-shaped coiffure (p. 72).

<sup>1377</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 138. 3.



Sayana it was used by women in hair-culture ; probably it is comb.<sup>1378</sup> (9) Opaśa<sup>1379</sup> — It was used for adorning the head. Roth thinks that it was a corruption of aba + paśa and hence meant hair-tape or hair-net.<sup>1380</sup> (10) Lalāma — It was a tiara worn on the forehead like a frontlet. (11) Lalāmya, frontlet (12) Lalamagu, frontlet (13) Surukma, an ornament for the chest (14) Rukmastarana, an ornament for the chest usually of crescent shape. (15) Nināha, an ornament for the waist. (16) Devāñjana (17) Nalada (18) Madhūlaka (19) Siman (20) Susra (21) Swandāñji (22) Haritasraj or Hiranyasraj. The White Yajurveda refers to the gold-smith<sup>1381</sup> and the jeweller<sup>1382</sup> and to gold ornaments.<sup>1383</sup> It refers to a gold ornament, perhaps a chain, round the neck of the sacrificer,<sup>1384</sup> to Opaśa,<sup>1385</sup> to gold worn as amulet<sup>1386</sup> and to golden trappings for horses.<sup>1387</sup> The Black Yajurveda, refers to Opaśa,<sup>1388</sup> Sraj, Pundarisraj and Voga. In the Kathopanishad<sup>1389</sup> we find that Yama offered to Nachiketas an ornament called Sriñkā. The Tandamahābrāhmaṇa mentions the ornament called Sraj made of gold. The term niṣkagrva in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa undoubtedly refers to the practice of wearing necklaces of niṣka coins. The Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa refers not only to Opaśa<sup>1390</sup> but also to necklaces of silver niṣka coins worn by the Vratyas.<sup>1391</sup> We hear of Rukmapāśa in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>1392</sup> a chain by means of which Rukma was worn on the breast. Karṇaśovana, mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, literally means an adornment for the ear, hence earring. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>1393</sup> we read of a

<sup>1378</sup> Prof. Subimal Sarkar in his *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* takes it to mean a style of hair-dressing (p. 73).

<sup>1379</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 138. 1.

<sup>1380</sup> Compare : 'A net that hath thousand eyes spread over the roof of a house' in Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 8. See also ante, fn. No. 444.

<sup>1381</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 17.

<sup>1382</sup> Ibid., XXX. 7.

<sup>1383</sup> White Yajurveda, XV. 50 ; XXXIV. 52.

<sup>1384</sup> Ibid., XXII. 1.

<sup>1385</sup> Ibid., XI. 56.

<sup>1386</sup> Ibid., XXXIV. 50.

<sup>1387</sup> Ibid., XXV. 39.

<sup>1388</sup> Black Yajurveda, IV. 1. 5. 3.

<sup>1389</sup> I. 16 : 'Tabaiba nāmnā vabitāya-maṇiḥ sriñkāñchemā manekarū-pāṃ grhāṇa.'

<sup>1390</sup> IV. 1. 1 ; cf. dvy-opaśāḥ in XIII. 4. 3.

<sup>1391</sup> Ibid., XVII. 1. 14.

<sup>1392</sup> VI. 7. 1. 7.

<sup>1393</sup> IV. 2. 1—4.

necklace offered to Raikva which he politely refused to accept. Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā<sup>1394</sup> also refers to opāśa.

In the Rāmāyaṇa we find mention of golden diadem (kirīta),<sup>1395</sup> golden diadem bedecked with gems and pearls;<sup>1396</sup> kuṇḍala, earring worn by both men<sup>1397</sup> and women,<sup>1398</sup> golden kuṇḍalas bedecked with diamond and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1399</sup> maṇikuṇḍala worn by men as well,<sup>1400</sup> karṇāvaraṇa (earring or ornament for the ear) called trikaṇṇa;<sup>1401</sup> golden bracelets (kāñchana keyūra worn on the upper arm by both men<sup>1402</sup> and women,<sup>1403</sup> karāvaraṇa (bangles) decked with corals,<sup>1404</sup> hastāvaraṇa worn by king Daśaratha,<sup>1405</sup> valaya, (armlet, bracelet) worn by men<sup>1406</sup> as well as women,<sup>1407</sup> kanaka aṅgada, golden bracelet worn by both men<sup>1408</sup> and women<sup>1409</sup>; aṅguriyaka, ring for the fingers<sup>1410</sup>; golden amulet (kavaca),<sup>1411</sup> golden amulet set with vaidūryamaṇi<sup>1412</sup>; necklace made of gold<sup>1413</sup>; kāñcana-mālā worn by king Bālī on the neck,<sup>1414</sup> pearl necklace,<sup>1415</sup> necklace of Indranilamaṇi,<sup>1416</sup> necklace of precious stones strung together with a golden thread,<sup>1417</sup> necklace of vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1418</sup> kaṇṭha-hāra, a kind of ornament for the neck,<sup>1419</sup> hemasūtra, a golden chain,

1394 II. 7. 5.

1395 Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 38th sarga.

1396 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1397 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd and 43rd sargas; Sundarakāṇḍa, 8th and 10th sargas; Aranyakāṇḍa, 38th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 65th sarga.

1398 Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th and 15th sargas.

1399 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1400 Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

1401 Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

1402 Bālakāṇḍa, 15th sarga: Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 65th and 130th sargas.

1403 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa 1st and 11th sargas.

1404 Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

1405 Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.

1406 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

1407 Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

1408 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1409 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1410 Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 65th and 128th sargas.

1411 Lankākāṇḍa, 65th sarga.

1412 Aranyakāṇḍa, 64th sarga.

1413 Bālakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.

1414 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

1415 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 9th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 130th sarga.

1416 Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.

1417 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

1418 Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

1419 Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

probably to be worn on the neck<sup>1420</sup> chandrahāra, a kind of necklace worn by both men<sup>1421</sup> and women,<sup>1422</sup> golden chain for sheep<sup>1423</sup>; kāñchidāma, a girdle-like ornament for the waist<sup>1424</sup>; kiñkiṇī-mālā, a girdle of small bells,<sup>1425</sup> mekhalā, an ornament for the waist and loins<sup>1426</sup>; and nūpura, an ornament for the ankles and feet.<sup>1427</sup>

Among the articles made of silver, the Atharvaveda<sup>1428</sup> mentions silver amulets which are said to grant vigour to the wearer.<sup>1429</sup> The White Yajurveda<sup>1430</sup> mentions silver needles for marking out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the dissector's knife is to follow. Silver plates used in sacrifice are mentioned in the Black Yajurveda and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad<sup>1431</sup> mentions the silver vessel called Mahiman used in the horse-sacrifice. The Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa refers, as we have already seen, to necklaces made of silver niṣkas worn by the Vrātyas. In the Rāmāyaṇa silver utensils,<sup>1433</sup> silver pitchers,<sup>1434</sup> seats made of silver,<sup>1435</sup> altars made of silver,<sup>1436</sup> bedsteads made of silver,<sup>1437</sup> pillars mounted with silver,<sup>1438</sup> silver-mounted arch of a gateway,<sup>1439</sup> windows made of silver,<sup>1440</sup> images of silver engraved on chariots,<sup>1441</sup> and images of silver placed in the bed-chamber of Rāvaṇa's palace<sup>1442</sup> are mentioned.

We have already seen that the third metal *ayas* is separated from *loha* and *śyāmam*<sup>1443</sup> and according to Schrader meant pure dark copper.<sup>1444</sup>

- |      |   |  |  |
|------|---|--|--|
| 1420 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.  | kāṇḍa, 91st sarga; Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa, 50th sarga. |  |
| 1421 | Lankākāṇḍa, 65th sarga.   |  |  |
| 1422 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.   | 1434   | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.  |
| 1423 | Ibid., 14th sarga.  | 1435   | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.  |
| 1424 | Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.  | 1338   | Ibid.  |
| 1425 | Ibid.   | 1437   | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 33rd sarga.   |
| 1426 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 78th sarga.   | 1438   | Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga.   |
| 1427 | Aranyakāṇḍa, 52nd sarga; Sundara-kāṇḍa, 1st, 9th and 11th sargas. | 1439   | Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.   |
| 1428 | V. 28. 1.   | 1440   | Aranyakāṇḍa, 55th sarga.   |
| 1429 | Ibid., V. 28. 5.  | 1441   | Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.   |
| 1430 | XXIII. 35, 37.  | 1442   | Ibid., 9th sarga.  |
| 1431 | I. 1. 2.  | 1443   | White Yajurveda, XVIII. 13; Black Yajurveda, IV. 7. 5.                                       |
| 1432 | XVII. 1. 14.  | 1444   | Compare: Latin <i>aes</i> = Goth <i>ais</i> = Zend <i>ayariṇ</i> , meaning pure dark copper. |
| 1433 | Bālakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga; Ayodhyā-                                   |  |  |



Loha occurs in the Atharvaveda,<sup>1445</sup> the White Yajurveda,<sup>1446</sup> the Black Yajurveda<sup>1447</sup> and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.<sup>1448</sup> The words Lohamaya and Lohāyasa occur in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1449</sup> According to Schrader<sup>1450</sup> loha originally meant copper but later it was used to denote iron. Śyāma is mentioned in the Atharvaveda,<sup>1451</sup> apparently meaning iron as the word occurs along with asi meaning a sword. It is also mentioned in the White Yajurveda,<sup>1452</sup> Black Yajurveda,<sup>1453</sup> Kathaka Samhitā,<sup>1454</sup> Kapiṣṭhala Samhitā<sup>1455</sup> and in the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā.<sup>1456</sup>

We have distinct references to the iron-smelter<sup>1457</sup> and the blacksmith.<sup>1458</sup> The Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad<sup>1459</sup> thus describes the work of the blacksmith :—"Even as a ball of iron pervaded (overcome) by fire and hammered by smiths, becomes manifold (assumes different forms such as crooked, round, large, small) thus the Elemental Self pervaded (overcome) by the inner man and hammered by the qualities becomes manifold." The softening of silver by means of gold, of tin by means of silver, of lead by means of tin, of loha (iron) by means of lead was also known.<sup>1460</sup> Whatever be the real meaning of ayas, loha and śyāmam these metals were extensively used in this period. Thus we read of receptacle that has been hammered or formed with a tool of ayas,<sup>1461</sup> metal vessels,<sup>1462</sup> metal jug,<sup>1461</sup> a pair of shears with sharp blades,<sup>1463</sup> sickle to cut the ripened grain,<sup>1464</sup> knife,<sup>1465</sup> spade to dig up the hardest soil

- 1445 XI. 3. 17.  
 1446 XVIII. 13.  
 1447 IV. 7. 5.  
 1448 IV. 17. 7.  
 1449 V. 4. 12 ; XIII. 2. 2. 8.  
 1450 Prehistoric Antiquities, p. 212.  
 1451 IX. 5. 4 ; XI. 3. 7.  
 1452 XVIII. 13.  
 1453 IV. 7. 5.  
 1454 XVIII. 10.  
 1455 XVIII. 10.  
 1456 II. 11. 5.

- 1457 White Yajurveda, XXX. 14.  
 1458 Ibid., XVI. 27.  
 1459 III. 3.  
 1460 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, IV. 17. 7.  
 1461 White Yajurveda, XXVI. 26.  
 1462 Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 4. 13 ;  
 Rāmāyaṇa, Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 33rd  
 sarga ; Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.  
 1463 Atharvaveda, XX. 127. 4.  
 1464 White Yajurveda, XII. 68.  
 1465 Ibid., IV. 1 ; VI. 11.

(evidently of metal,<sup>1466</sup> *dātra*, bill hook,<sup>1467</sup> hatchet,<sup>1468</sup> iron axe,<sup>1469</sup> iron hook,<sup>1470</sup> iron razor<sup>1471</sup> with razor-case,<sup>1472</sup> pair of nail scissors,<sup>1473</sup> iron nets,<sup>1474</sup> fetters wrought of iron,<sup>1475</sup> *louha-mañjuṣā*, iron box or trunk<sup>1476</sup> and collyrium-pots, probably made of metal.<sup>1477</sup> Among articles for use in sacrifice we read of the sacrificial hatchet,<sup>1478</sup> sickle to cut and trim the sacred grass,<sup>1479</sup> lead needles (according to the commentator Mahidhara copper or iron needles) to mark out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the dissector's knife is to follow,<sup>1480</sup> bell, evidently made of metal<sup>1481</sup> and threads of iron for use in amulets.<sup>1482</sup> Among articles for purposes of war we read of *phāla*, blade of an arrow,<sup>1483</sup> sword,<sup>1484</sup> *varman*, armour, coat of mail,<sup>1485</sup> armour for elephants and horses,<sup>1486</sup>. Iron forts<sup>1487</sup> and iron castles<sup>1488</sup> used in a

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| <p>1466 Aitareya Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 1. 4; <i>khanitra</i>, hoe, spade in Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 37th sarga; <i>tañka</i>, hoe, spade in Ibid., 80th sarga.</p> <p>1467 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.</p> <p>1468 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VI. 16. 1.</p> <p>1469 Atharvaveda, VII. 115. 1; VI. 141. 2; II. 12. 3; White Yajurveda, V. 42; VI. 15; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 54th sarga; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.</p> <p>1470 Atharvaveda, VII. 115. 1.</p> <p>1471 Ibid., VI. 68. 1, 3; White Yajurveda, III. 63; XV. 4; Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 3. 2; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20. Compare "Just as the sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over, thus the wise say the path (to Self) is hard" — Kaṭhapaniṣad, I. 3. 14.</p> <p>1472 Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20.</p> <p>1473 Kārshnāyasaṃ in Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VI. I. 6.</p> <p>1474 Atharvaveda, XIX. 66. I.</p> | <p>1475 Ibid., VI. 63. 2; VI. 84. 3. White Yajurveda, XII. 63.</p> <p>1476 Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 67th sarga; cf. <i>Peṭaka</i> in Ajodhyākāṇḍa, 36th and 37th sargas.</p> <p>1477 Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.</p> <p>1478 Atharvaveda, VII. 28.</p> <p>1479 Ibid., XII. 2. 31; cf. Black Yajurveda, I. 1. 2.</p> <p>1480 White Yajurveda, XXIII. 37.</p> <p>1481 Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VI. 22.</p> <p>1482 Atharvaveda, V. 28. 1.</p> <p>1483 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 36th sarga.</p> <p>1484 Kaṭhapaniṣad, II. 6. 4; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālākāṇḍa, 54th sarga; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 23rd, 43rd and 52nd sargas.</p> <p>1485 Atharvaveda, VI. 118. 1; VIII. 5. 18; IX. 2. 16; XIX. 58. 4; XX. 18. 6; White Yajurveda, XIII. 35; XVII. 49; XXIX. 38, 45; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 40th and 91st sarga.</p> <p>1486 Rāmāyaṇa, Lankākāṇḍa, 75th sarga.</p> <p>1487 Atharvaveda, XIX. 58. 4.</p> <p>1488 White Yajurveda, V. 8.</p> |
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figurative sense are also mentioned. Pillars made of iron,<sup>1489</sup> ornaments made of iron worn by king Trīśaṅku in his chandāla dress<sup>1490</sup> and images of tigers made of various metals<sup>1491</sup> are also mentioned.

We also read of the use of mixed metals (yugikadhātu) in this age. Bell-metal (kāṁsya) vessels, made of an alloy of copper and tin are mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.<sup>1492</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1493</sup> we are told that after the marriage ceremony of his sons was over, king Daśaratha on reaching home presented four Brahmins with cows together with calves and bell-metal vessels for milching (kāṁsya-dohanabhāṇḍa). Vessels made of brass or pītāla, an alloy of copper and zinc are mentioned in the Maitrāyaṇa-Brahmaṇa Upaniṣad.<sup>1494</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1495</sup> we find a reference to brass when Khara angrily speaks to Rāma thus : "Just as the gold-like pītāla (brass) is blackened when put to fire, so are you showing only your hollowness by self-laudation."

Whether alchemy was known in this period is not certain. Alchemy is the process by means of which an inferior metal is converted into a superior one. We find reference to this process in the 37th sarga of the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa where the origin of metals specially of gold (jātarūpa) is discussed. But some scholars look upon this passage as a later addition (prakṣipta).

**The art of the jeweller** — The maṇikāra or jeweller is mentioned in the list of human victims of Puruṣamedha in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1496</sup> In the Taittirīya Brahmana<sup>1497</sup> the word used for jewellery is kācha which may mean glass or glass-beads ; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that those who set glass on gold did not follow the same procedure with diamonds, and other precious stones for which they had names and which they knew and prized.<sup>1498</sup> When Bharata left Ayodhyā to bring back

- 1489 Atharvaveda, VI. 63. 3.  
 1490 Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 58th sarga.  
 1491 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.  
 1492 V. 2. 8.  
 1493 Bālakāṇḍa, 72nd sarga.  
 1494 VI. 22.  
 1495 Aranyakāṇḍa, 29th sarga.

- 1496 XXX. 7.  
 1497 III. 665.  
 1498 Manu ordains a fine for piercing fine gems like diamonds and rubies and for boring pearls or inferior gems improperly.



Rāma from the forest he was followed among others by the manikāra.<sup>1499</sup> As a matter of fact, the Rāmāyaṇa which treats of royal families generally as contrasted with the ritual literature mentions a large number of jewellery used in this period. Thus we read of golden diadem (kirita) set with jewels and pearls,<sup>1500</sup> golden kuṇḍalas (earrings) set with diamonds and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1501</sup> manikūṇḍala,<sup>1502</sup> pearl necklace,<sup>1503</sup> necklace of Indranīlamāṇi,<sup>1504</sup> necklace of precious stones strung together with a golden thread,<sup>1505</sup> necklace of vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1506</sup> golden amulet set with vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1507</sup> hastāvaraṇa (bangles) set with corals,<sup>1508</sup> various images decked with gold, silver, diamonds, pearls and corals,<sup>1509</sup> images of birds decked with silver, coral and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1510</sup> images of serpents decked with gems,<sup>1511</sup> golden seats decked with gems,<sup>1512</sup> seats decked with gold and gems,<sup>1513</sup> bedstead decked with various gems,<sup>1514</sup> golden bedstead decked with gems,<sup>1515</sup> bed-sheet decked with gems and vaidūryamaṇi,<sup>1516</sup> crystal altar decked with various gems,<sup>1517</sup> altars decked with white gems like indranīlamāṇi and mahānīlamāṇi,<sup>1518</sup> fly-flapper (chāmara) decked with white gems,<sup>1519</sup> chariot adorned with gems and corals,<sup>1520</sup> chariot mounted with gold and decked with jewels,<sup>1521</sup> and silver pillars decked with gold, gems and pearls.<sup>1522</sup>

We may refer in this connection to prākāśa which is frequently mentioned in the Taittiriya, Śatapatha and Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇas. It means

1499	Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.	1510	Ibid., 7th sarga.
1500	Ibid, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.	1511	Ibid.
1501	Ibid.	1512	Ibid., 11th sarga.
1502	Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga.	1513	Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.
1503	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 9th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga; Lankākāṇḍa, 130th sarga.	1514	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 76th sarga; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 50th sarga.
1504	Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.	1515	Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.
1505	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.	1516	Ibid., 10th sarga.
1506	Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.	1517	Ibid.
1507	Araṇyakāṇḍa, 64th sarga.	1518	Ibid., 9th sarga.
1508	Sundarakāṇḍa, 15th sarga.	1519	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.
1509	Ibid, 9th sarga.	1520	Lankākāṇḍa, 11th sarga.
		1521	Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga; Araṇyakāṇḍa, 53rd sarga.
		1522	Sundarakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

looking glass. Geldner thinks that *prāvepa* in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*<sup>1523</sup> means the same thing. The Upaniṣads refer to polished mirrors<sup>1524</sup>. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to polished mirrors (*sumārjita darpaṇa*).<sup>1525</sup> To people acquainted with crystals and metal foil the idea of setting small plates of crystal on foil for the manufacture of looking glasses would be easy enough. Polished metal plates seem, however, to be more frequently used and in the present day orthodox people prefer them to foiled glass in connection with marriage and other religious ceremonies. Such plates are usually made of silver. The mirror mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*<sup>1526</sup> was a metal disc.<sup>1527</sup> The ancient Egyptians preferred copper or an alloy of copper and tin; but the Hindus hold that alloy as impure and unfit for religious purposes. The word *kācha* for glass occurs in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1528</sup> and seeing that the Ceylonese who borrowed all the arts of civilised life from the Hindus, make mention in the *Dwīpavaṃśa* of a "glass pinnacle" placed on the top of the Ruanwelle dagoba by Suidaitissa, brother of Dutugaimuna, in the second century B.C. and of a "glass mirror" in the third century B.C.<sup>1529</sup> and Pliny describes the glass of India being superior to all others from the circumstance of its being made of pounded crystal<sup>1530</sup> it would not be presumptuous to believe that it was, in ancient times used in India in the formation of looking glasses; but we have nothing as yet to show that mercury was used in fixing the foil on it. The looking glasses used in the decoration of the marble bath in the palace at Agra, were foiled with a film of lead and tin poured in a melted state in large glass globes which were afterwards broken to form small mirrors. This mode of foiling is still in common practice in many parts of India.

<sup>1523</sup> IV. 4. 8.

<sup>1524</sup> *Kāthopaniṣad*, II. 6. 5; *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, II. 14; *Aitareya Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 2. 4. 10.

<sup>1525</sup> *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 91st sarga.

<sup>1526</sup> II. 14.

<sup>1527</sup> "As a metal disc (mirror) tarnished by dust, shines bright again after

it has been cleansed, so is the one incarnate person satisfied and free from grief, after he has seen the real nature of the self (Max Müller's Translation in the S. B. E. Vol. XV. p. 242).

<sup>1528</sup> III. 665.

<sup>1529</sup> Tennet's Ceylon, I. p. 454.

<sup>1530</sup> Lib. XXXVI., C. 66.



(3) **Working in wood**—The ordinary carpenter made wooden vessels, implements and furniture for domestic as well as ritual use. Ladles of various kinds—the *sruva*<sup>1531</sup> (small ladle used specially for Soma libation), the *sruca*<sup>1532</sup> (large wooden ladle), *dhruvā*<sup>1533</sup> (having the largest bowl used in pouring libations of clarified butter into fire), the *juhu*<sup>1534</sup> and the *upabhr̥t*<sup>1535</sup> are frequently mentioned. Wooden mace used in sacrifice,<sup>1536</sup> wooden sacrificial spade<sup>1537</sup> with which earth is to be dug to form two square beds for the chief cauldron called *mahāvira* and *gharma* to rest on, large wooden soma reservoir called *droṇa-kalasa*,<sup>1538</sup> four-cornered sacrificial cups of *khadira* wood<sup>1539</sup> mortar-shaped cup of *palāśa* wood<sup>1540</sup> cup made of *udumvara* wood,<sup>1541</sup> wooden soma cups,<sup>1542</sup> wooden covers for sacrificial vessels,<sup>1543</sup> wooden mortar<sup>1544</sup> and pestle<sup>1545</sup> for extracting soma juice, wooden mortar and pestle for pounding out rice,<sup>1546</sup> wooden pegs or wedges with which the pressing stones are beaten<sup>1547</sup> wooden pegs for stretching out skin or woven cloth<sup>1548</sup> wooden needles used in stitching together the folding doors of the cart-shed,<sup>1549</sup> fire-shovel or poker made of *palāśa* wood,<sup>1550</sup> wooden instrument called *sphya*, shaped like a sword used in stirring up boiled rice, drawing lines on the ground and other sacrificial purposes,<sup>1551</sup> *yūpas* or sacrificial

- 1531 White Yajurveda, I. 29; II. 20; XVII. 77; Bṛhadāranyaka Upani- VI. 3. 13.  
 1532 White Yajurveda, I. 29; II. 20; XVII. 79.  
 1533 Atharvaveda, XVIII. 5; Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7.  
 1534 Atharvaveda, V. 17. 5; XVIII. 5; Black Yajurveda, III. 5. 7.  
 1535 Atharvaveda, XVIII. 5; Black yajurveda, III. 5. 7. 2.  
 1536 Atharvaveda, VII. 28.  
 1537 White Yajurveda, V. 22; XI. 10; XXXVII. 1; Aitareya Āranyaka III. 1. 4.  
 1538 White Yajurveda, VII. 29; VIII. 42; XIX. 27; Black Yajurveda, III. 1. 6. 1.

- 1539 White Yajurveda. VIII. 33.  
 1540 Ibid., XIX. 33.  
 1541 Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 3. 1; VI. 3. 13.  
 1542 White Yajurveda, XIX. 27.  
 1543 Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 53.  
 1544 White Yajurveda, I. 14; XIII. 33.  
 1545 Ibid., I. 15; XIII. 33.  
 1546 Atharvaveda, XII. 15.  
 1547 White Yajurveda, I. 16.  
 1548 Ibid., V. 16.  
 1549 Ibid., V. 21.  
 1550 Ibid., I. 17.  
 1551 Ibid., I. 24; Black Yajurveda, I. 1. 9.



posts,<sup>1552</sup> timber posts called svaru,<sup>1553</sup> drupad<sup>1554</sup> and vanaspati<sup>1555</sup> (evidently a dressed and entire śāla trunk) are referred to.

Mention is also made of seats made of udumvara wood<sup>1556</sup> and of thrones of khadira wood.<sup>1557</sup> Among these the tālpa is thus described in the Atharvaveda :

“Bhaga hath formed the four legs of the tālpa,  
Wrought the four pieces that compose the frame-work.  
Tvaṣṭar (skilled carpenters) hath decked the straps  
that go across it.<sup>1558</sup>

Being the nuptial bed-stead<sup>1559</sup> it was usually made of udumvara wood.<sup>1560</sup> The pīṭha (alluded to in the mention of pīṭhasarpin<sup>1561</sup> cripple) was evidently a wooden seat. The epithet proṣṭha-śāya<sup>1562</sup> shows that proṣṭha was something like a high and broad bench.<sup>1563</sup> In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1564</sup> proṣṭha is, therefore, distinguished from tālpa and vahya. As the name suggests vahya is a couch of light structure that could be carried about when necessary; it seems to have been an essential item of furniture for the bridal chamber,<sup>1565</sup> having an embroidered coverlet.<sup>1566</sup> Āsandi which means either a shining seat or the occupier of a shining seat is referred to in the Atharvaveda in connection with not only the inauguration of the Vratya chief<sup>1567</sup> but also a marriage-ceremony.<sup>1568</sup> In the White Yajurveda<sup>1569</sup> āsandi is specially associated with kingship, being

- <sup>1552</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 30 ; XII. 1. 38 ;  
XII. 3. 33 ; White Yajurveda, Bk.  
V. 41-43 and Bk. VI. 1-6 ; Black  
Yajurveda, VI. 6. 4. ; Rāmāyana,  
Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga. Aitareya  
Brāhmaṇa II. 1 ; Kauṣītaki Brāh-  
maṇa, X. 1.  
<sup>1553</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 24. 4 ; XII. 1. 13.  
<sup>1554</sup> Ibid., VI. 63. 3 ; VI. 115. 2 ; XIX.  
47. 9 ; White Yajurveda, XX. 20.  
<sup>1555</sup> Ibid., IX. 3. 11 ; Black Yajurveda,  
VI. 2. 8. 4.  
<sup>1556</sup> Aitareya Āraṇyaka, I. 2. 4. 10.  
<sup>1557</sup> White Yajurveda, X. 26.  
<sup>1558</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 60.

- <sup>1559</sup> Ibid., XIV. 1. 31.  
<sup>1560</sup> Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 2. 6. 5.  
<sup>1561</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 21 ; 1 lack  
Yajurveda, III. 4. 17. 1.  
<sup>1562</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 5. 3 = Rigveda,  
VII. 55. 8.  
<sup>1563</sup> Compare vernacular paīṭhā, a broad  
plank resting on two legs in the  
Gangetic river-boats.  
<sup>1564</sup> II. 7. 17. 1.  
<sup>1565</sup> Atharvaveda, IV. 20. 3.  
<sup>1566</sup> Ibid., XIV. 2. 30.  
<sup>1567</sup> Ibid., XV. 3. 2. ff.  
<sup>1568</sup> Ibid., XIV. 2. 65.  
<sup>1569</sup> XIX. 86.

regarded as the 'womb of *rājanyas*'<sup>1570</sup> and its use in ritual by a sacrificial priest ensures *samrājya* for his client<sup>1571</sup>; but the qualificatory term *rājasandī*<sup>1572</sup> shows that the humbler *āsandī*'s were also in use. The *āsandī* is usually made of sacred *udumvara* wood,<sup>1573</sup> sometimes of *khadirawood*.<sup>1574</sup> It had four legs.<sup>1575</sup> It was sometimes square,<sup>1576</sup> and sometimes rectangular<sup>1577</sup> in shape. It was sometimes a span high,<sup>1578</sup> sometimes knee high<sup>1579</sup> or navel high.<sup>1580</sup> The *Vrātya* chief's *āsandī* described in the *Atharvaveda*<sup>1581</sup> had framework of wood and woven straps, two (fore) feet, two (back) feet; two lengthwise and two crosswise pieces; forward and cross *tantus* (wooven straps or cords), and *upśraya*, the support or back of the seat; its adjuncts were *āstarāṇa*, coverlet, *āsāda*, seat proper i.e., the cushion for sitting on, and *upvarhāṇa*, cushion for leaning against. The *paryaṅka* is a later development being first mentioned in the later Vedic texts.<sup>1582</sup> It had four legs and was furnished with *śīrṣanya*, head-piece of the couch, *upaśrī*, the supporting back of the couch and *ucchīrṣaka*, cushion and pillow for the head.

In addition to the ordinary carpenter we find the *Rathakāra*<sup>1583</sup> who besides making chariots for purposes of war<sup>1584</sup> and race made carts,<sup>1585</sup> waggons<sup>1586</sup> and carriages.<sup>1587</sup> References to boats<sup>1588</sup>

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| 1570 | Cf. also White Yajurveda, XX. 1.  | 1581 | XV. 3. 2ff.   |
| 1571 | Black Yajurveda. VII. 5. 8. 5.  | 1582 | Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, I. 5; Śāṅkhy-<br>āyana Āraṇyaka, III, Compare<br>Jaim. Brāh. II. 24.  |
| 1572 | White Yajurveda, XIX. 16.   | 1583 | Atharvaveda, III. 5. 6.   |
| 1573 | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5, 6, 12<br>and 17, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 4.<br>26 ff; V. 2. 1. 22; VI. 7. 1. 12ff;<br>XIV. 1. 3. 8ff. | 1584 | White Yajurveda, XXIX. 45.  |
| 1574 | Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 4. 1 ff.  | 1585 | Ibid., I. 8; II. 19; IV. 33.  |
| 1575 | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 12 and<br>17; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, I. 5;<br>Śāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka, III.,                                   | 1586 | Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 18; Brhadā-<br>raṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 4. 1. 35.   |
| 1576 | Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI. 7. 1. 12 ff;<br>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5 and 6.   | 1587 | Atharvaveda, XX. 125. 3; White<br>Yajurveda, XII. 30; Brhadāraṇyaka<br>Upaniṣad, IV. 2. 1.  |
| 1577 | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 12.  | 1588 | Atharvaveda, II. 36. 5; III. 6. 7;<br>IV. 33. 7, 8; V. 4. 4; V. 19. 18;<br>XX. 46. 2; XX. 72. 1; Black<br>Yajurveda, V. 3. 10. 1; Aitareya<br>Āraṇyaka I. 2. 4. 6. etc. |
| 1578 | Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI. 7. 1. 12ff.   |      |   |
| 1579 | Ibid., XII. 8. 3. 4ff.  |      |   |
| 1580 | Ibid., III. 3. 4. 26ff.   |      |   |



presuppose the existence of boat builders. Boats of bigger size, having two rudders (nau-maṇḍa)<sup>1589</sup> came to be known in this period.

The Rāmāyaṇa refers to specialised carpenters<sup>1590</sup> and to the manufacture of boxes (peṭaka)<sup>1591</sup> wooden sandals<sup>1592</sup> and artificial hills made of wood.<sup>1593</sup>

(4) **Leather-work**—The hide-dresser is mentioned in the White Yajurveda<sup>1594</sup> and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1595</sup> seems to refer to the stretching of hides with pegs, while the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad<sup>1596</sup> refers to the rolling up of hides. The importance of the hide-dresser is evident from the fact that skins of aja (goat) kṛṣṇasāra (the black antelope), hariṇa (deer) and the eta (spotted deer) were in common and ritual use. Thus the religious student (brahmācārī) is clad in the black antelope skin.<sup>1597</sup> The gods dressed in deer skins<sup>1598</sup> used to alarm their enemies.<sup>1598</sup> The Kukundhas and the Kukūrabhas used to dress themselves in hides and skins.<sup>1599</sup> Skins of deer were used as coverings<sup>1600</sup> and as seat-spreads.<sup>1601</sup> According to ritual custom the Brahmin priest goes clad in goat's skin.<sup>1602</sup> Goat skin was also used as coverlet for āsandi's.<sup>1603</sup> A tradition of wearing cowhides in primitive times is hinted in a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1604</sup> Cowhide also served as a ritual seat for the newly married couple. The skin of the black antelope was used as coverlet for āsandi's<sup>1605</sup> as well as for pressing soma and bruising and husking the rice used in oblations.<sup>1606</sup> The tiger-skin was used as

1589 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 3. 3. 15.

1590 Ayodhyakāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.

1591 Ibid., 36th and 37th sargas.

1592 Ibid., 91st sarga.

1593 Sundarakāṇḍa 6th sarga.

1594 XXX. 15.

1595 V. 15; compare Griffith's White Yajurveda, p. 43 fn.

1596 VI. 20.

1597 Atharvaveda, XI. 5. 5.

1598 Ibid., V. 21. 7.

1599 Ibid., VIII. 6. 11.

1600 Ibid., IV. 7. 6.

1601 Rāmāyaṇa, Aranyakāṇḍa, 43rd sarga.

1602 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 9. 1. 12.

1603 Ibid. V. 2. 1. 22.

1604 Ibid., III. 1. 2. 13ff.

1605 Ibid., XII. 8. 3. 4-10.

1606 Atharvaveda, XI. 1. 8. See also Griffith's Atharvaveda, Vol. II. p. 52 fn.



coverlet for āsandī's<sup>1607</sup> and for chariots.<sup>1608</sup> Lion skins were also used for covering chariots.<sup>1609</sup>

Besides the hide-dresser, leather-worker (carmaśilpī)<sup>1610</sup> is also mentioned. Leather-bags were used for holding milk, wine and other liquids<sup>1611</sup> and dry skin-bags sometimes formed part of sacrificial fee.<sup>1612</sup> The ritual shoes mentioned in the Black Yajurveda<sup>1613</sup> were made of black antelope skins while the ritual shoes mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1614</sup> and in the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa<sup>1615</sup> were made of boar-skin.

(5) **Pottery**—The potter is frequently mentioned<sup>1616</sup> Among the earthen pots made by him we find sthāli, cooking pot which occurs in the Atharvaveda and the Brāhmaṇas; āsecana, vessel to hold liquids such as meat-juice (Yūsan)<sup>1617</sup>; and ukhā, a cooking pot which is described clearly as mṛṇmaya in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1618</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions sthāli, kumbhi and karambhī filled with curds.<sup>1619</sup> Broken liquor-pots are also referred to<sup>1620</sup>

(6) **Ivory work**—The Rāmāyaṇa mentions altars<sup>1621</sup> and seats made of ivory,<sup>1622</sup> legs of bedsteads made of ivory and gold,<sup>1623</sup> pillars and windows (of Rāvaṇa's palace) made of ivory,<sup>1624</sup> and images of ivory placed in chariots.<sup>1625</sup>

<sup>1607</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 4. 1 ff;  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5 and 6.

<sup>1608</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 16th sarga;  
Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1609</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

<sup>1610</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga. See  
also carmachchhedaka in Ayodhyā-  
kāṇḍa, 80th sarga.

<sup>1611</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 11.  
26; XVI. 13. 13.

<sup>1612</sup> Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 19.

<sup>1613</sup> V. 4. 4. 4; V. 6. 6. 1.

<sup>1614</sup> V. 4. 3. 19.

<sup>1615</sup> III. 3.

<sup>1616</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 27; XXX.  
7; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, I. 8. 3.

<sup>1617</sup> Rigveda, I. 162. 13.

<sup>1618</sup> XI. 59; see also Black Yajurveda,  
IV. 1. 5. 4; Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 17.

<sup>1619</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>1620</sup> Ibid., 114th sarga.

<sup>1621</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

<sup>1622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1623</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

<sup>1624</sup> Aranyākāṇḍa, 55th sarga.

<sup>1625</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th and 9th sargas.

(7) **Manufacture of liquor**—The sacred sacrificial drink obtained from the Soma plant was highly prized in this period as none of the principal religious rites such as the Darśa, Pūrṇamāsa, Jyotiṣṭoma, Ukthya, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Āptaryāma etc., could be celebrated without it. It is no wonder, therefore that the Black Yajurveda<sup>1626</sup> furnishes innumerable mantras for repetition at every stage of its manufacture. It is not necessary to describe here in any detail<sup>1772</sup> the several steps in its manufacture; suffice it to say that it was made with the expressed juice of the Soma creeper, diluted with water, mixed with barley meal, clarified butter and the meal of wild paddy (nīvāra) and fermented in jar for nine days.<sup>1628</sup> It seems that the starch of the two kinds of meal (barley and wild paddy) supplied the material for the vinous fermentation and the Soma juice served to promote vinous fermentation, flavour the beverage and check acetous decomposition in the same way that hop does in beer. Its intoxicating effects as noticed in the Rigveda have already been described. In the Black Yajurveda we find a story in which a sage Viśvarūpa by name, son of Tvaṣṭu while engaged at the Soma sacrifice is said to have indulged so inordinately in the exhilarating beverage as to have vomited on the animals brought before him for immolation.

In a distilled condition the Soma would be of no use and as it was not distilled it could not be kept for any great length of time. Accordingly no Soma juice was used when arrack was distilled from fermented meal. This fermented barley or wild paddy meal when distilled was called surā which was known, as we have already seen, early in the Rigvedic Age. It was used as an article of offering to the Gods in two important rites, namely, Sautrmāṇī and the Vājapeya. According to Baudhāyana and Kātyāyana three articles are used in its preparation viz. sprouting paddy, the sprout brought on by steeping paddy in water, slightly parched barley steeped in curds and diluted butter milk, and coarse powder of the same steeped in whey. After proper fermentation, this was distilled in the usual way. Unfortunately we do not get any description in contem-

<sup>1626</sup> I. 2.4; VI. 1.4.

<sup>1627</sup> The Kalpasūtras and the Somaprayoga supply the details.

<sup>1628</sup> Stevenson's Sāmaveda, p. 5; Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I., p. 6.



porary literature, of the still in which the distillation was effected, the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa suppling only a number of mantras for the preparation of the liquor. Another drink known as Kilāla was probably a variety of surā while Parisrut was a drink made from flowers.<sup>1629</sup>

The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1630</sup> refers to surā which oozes spontaneously from trees (tāḍi ?) and different varieties of madya prepared by the Śaundika of which Varuṇi<sup>1631</sup> and Maireya<sup>1632</sup> were famous.

(8) **Painting**—Frescoes (patibhīna or conversation-pictures i.e., love-scenes) are mentioned in the oldest Pali literature and the very fact that Buddha prohibited these paintings and permitted only the representation of wreaths and creepers shows the pre-Buddhistic origin of painting. The Kathopaniṣad<sup>1633</sup> refers by way of simile to pictures (light and shade) and to the painter's brush<sup>1634</sup> while the Maitrāyaṇa-Brahmaṇa Upaniṣad<sup>1635</sup> refers by way of simile to a painted wall. The Rāmāyaṇa refers not only to painters (citraśilpavid)<sup>1636</sup> but also to rooms (of Rāma's Mahal in Ayodhyā) adorned with pictures made by skilful artists.<sup>1637</sup> Picture-galleries<sup>1638</sup> are also mentioned.

(9) **Sculpture**—Sculptured images on wooden posts are as old as the Rīgveda.<sup>1639</sup> The Atharvaveda refers to decorated and inlaid (piś) bowls like the starry night<sup>1640</sup> and to carvings in relief of gods inside the bowl.<sup>1641</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa refers to images of horses, birds, serpents and of Lakṣmī with her elephants carved on the aerial chariot of Rāvaṇa.<sup>1642</sup>

- <sup>1629</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2. 9 ;  
Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, III. 4. 4.  
See also Zimmer—Altindisches  
Leben, p. 281.  
<sup>1630</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.  
<sup>1631</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 114th sarga.  
<sup>1632</sup> Ibid., 91st sarga ; Uttarakāṇḍa, 52nd  
sarga.  
<sup>1633</sup> II. 6. 5.  
<sup>1634</sup> II. 6. 17.

- <sup>1635</sup> IV, 2.  
<sup>1636</sup> Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga.  
<sup>1637</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga.  
<sup>1638</sup> Citragṛha in Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 10th  
sarga ; Citraśālā in Sundarakāṇḍa,  
6th and 12th sargas.  
<sup>1639</sup> IV. 32. 23.  
<sup>1640</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 49. 8.  
<sup>1641</sup> Ibid., XII. 3. 33.  
<sup>1642</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 7th sarga.



(10) **Architecture**—The Atharvaveda <sup>1643</sup> gives us a graphic account of a style of architecture which evidently refers to the ordinary type of a dwelling house in this period. According to it four pillars (upamit) were set up on a good site and against them beams were leant at an angle as props (pratimit). The upright pillars were connected by cross-beams (parimit) resting upon them. The roof was formed of ribs of bamboo (vaṃśa), a ridge called viṣūvant and akṣu, either the wicker-work or split bamboo-lining, over which the thatch was laid and to which the description of thousand-eyed <sup>1644</sup> could aptly be applied or a net spread over the viṣūvant to keep the straw-bundles of the thatch in tact during stormy weather. The walls were filled up with straw or long reedy grass <sup>1645</sup> and the whole structure was held together with ties of various sorts. <sup>1646</sup> Besides the store-house of Soma, <sup>1647</sup> the agni-sāla (the hall of the fire altar), <sup>1648</sup> patnīnām sadana (ladies' apartments), <sup>1649</sup> sadas (a shed erected in the sacrificial enclosure to the east of the Prācīnavamśa chamber, which had its supporting beam turned towards the east) <sup>1650</sup> and covered verandahs (at least along the front and back as denoted by the term pakṣas) each house had a big store-room or sāla full of clean corn <sup>1651</sup> and sheds for sheep and cattle. <sup>1652</sup>

In the Black Yajurveda we find frequent mention of bricks\* and of their use in the construction of fire-altars. Among the various forms of altar-bricks known to the people of this age, we may mention

<sup>1643</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 3; III. 12.

<sup>1644</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 8.

<sup>1645</sup> Palada, Atharvaveda, III. 12. 5; IX. 3. 5; palāva, Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 19; Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, I. 54. 1; palāli Atharvaveda, II. 8. 3; palāla, Kauṣītaki Sūtra, LXXX. 27.

<sup>1646</sup> Saṃplamśa, prāṇāha, nahana, pariṣvañjalya—Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 4, 5.

<sup>1647</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 7.; IX. 6. 7.

<sup>1648</sup> Ibid., IX. 3. 7.

<sup>1649</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1650</sup> Ibid., IX. 6. 7.

<sup>1651</sup> Ibid., III. 12. 3.

<sup>1652</sup> As there is distinct mention of playful calves and children in the house in the Atharvaveda III. 12. 3. Compare Rigveda, VII. 56. 16. Moreover, the house is described as rich in horses and in kine (Atharvaveda, III. 12. 2) and as giving rest to man and beast (Atharvaveda, IX. 3. 17.)

\* The first explicit mention of burnt (pakva) bricks occurs in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa late in the 7th century B. C. (VI. 1. 2. 22; VII. 2. 1. 7.)

mandaleṣṭakā (circular bricks)<sup>1653</sup> vikarṇī, (cornerless bricks)<sup>1654</sup> codī (conical bricks)<sup>1655</sup> kumbheṣṭakā (pot bricks)<sup>1656</sup> and other bricks with various linear markings.<sup>1657</sup> Mortar (puriṣa) was used in making bricks firm and has therefore been aptly compared to flesh adhering to bones.<sup>1658</sup> Such adhesive plasters must have been essential in the construction of the alternative forms of the altar<sup>1659</sup> like the 'bird' styles (representing the śyena, kanka or alaja) or the 'bowl' or granary (drona), 'chariot-wheel,' 'circle' 'cemetery' (śmaśāna) and 'triangle' models. It would be extraordinary if bricks were not used for the secular house-buildings as well, while altars (household or special) and cemeteries<sup>1660</sup> were brick-built.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes at length the śmaśāna (funeral and memorial) structures and classifies them into vāstu, gṛhān and prajñānam.<sup>1661</sup> The vāstu reliquary of bones etc., was built in two styles. The Prācya or unorthodox type was round and domeshaped (parimaṇḍala),<sup>1662</sup> separate from the earth (i. e., towering), made of stone, instead of bricks<sup>1663</sup> and enclosed by an indefinite number of enclosing stones.<sup>1664</sup> The orthodox style of vāstu was square or quadrilateral,<sup>1665</sup> not separate from the earth,<sup>1666</sup> and made of bricks one foot square.<sup>1667</sup> The gṛhān<sup>1668</sup> was either an actual house with many rooms, erected over or beside the grave in memory of the deceased or chambers and vaults of subterranean or rock-cut caves.<sup>1669</sup> The prajñānam means a pillar-like memorial monument. A pillar (sthūpā) is indeed set up on the

<sup>1653</sup> Black Yajurveda, IV. 4. 5; V. 3.

9; etc.

<sup>1654</sup> Ibid., V. 3. 7.

<sup>1655</sup> Ibid., IV. 4. 3; V. 3. 7; etc.

<sup>1656</sup> Ibid., V. 6. 1; etc.

<sup>1657</sup> Ibid., V. 2. 3; V. 2. 10.

<sup>1658</sup> Ibid., V. 2. 3.

<sup>1659</sup> Ibid., V. 4. 11.

<sup>1660</sup> The direction that brick-altars could be erected after the model of (round or square) śmaśānas show that these latter were also brick-structures by the time of the Black Yajurveda.

<sup>1661</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 8. 1.

<sup>1662</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1663</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 4. 11.

<sup>1664</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 2. 2.

<sup>1665</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 8. 1. 1ff.

<sup>1666</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 1. 1.

<sup>1667</sup> Ibid., XIII. 8. 4. 11.

<sup>1668</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 3. 51 = Rigveda X. 18. 12; Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 37.

<sup>1669</sup> The Roman catacombs and Egyptian cave-graves offer instructive parallels.

Vedic grave<sup>1670</sup> and in the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa a stone<sup>1671</sup> pillar (śanku) was set up along with three timber ones at the four corners of the śmaśāna.<sup>1672</sup>

The great variety of names for doors<sup>1673</sup> and pillars<sup>1674</sup> shows that they were a marked feature of one other type of house-building, characterised by timber-work as opposed to bamboo, brick and stone work. This timber architecture seems to have been strengthened by the use of ayasthūpa's<sup>1675</sup> (pillars made of the metal called ayas) and parigha's<sup>1676</sup> so that it constituted a necessary earlier stage of architecture to account for the elaborate gold-plated and inlaid timber-pillars of the Mauryan palace.

(11) **Town planning**—Town-planning seems to have been known in this period. Mr. E. B. Havell<sup>1677</sup> remarks "The close connection of the geometrical system (denoted by the mystic figures Paramaśāyika, Swastika, Sarvatobhadra, etc.) with the Vedic sacrificial lore, and the position of the master-builder as high priest or sacrificial expert are indirect proofs of the great antiquity of the Indian science of town-planning; for, geometry as a science was an Indo-Aryan invention and had its origin in the complicated system of Vedic sacrifices in which it became necessary to

<sup>1670</sup> Atharvaveda, XVIII. 3. 52=Rig-veda, X. 18. 3.

<sup>1671</sup> According to the commentator made of vṛtra=stone.

<sup>1672</sup> Compare the four pillars adjacent to stupas and later on to mediæval mausoleums.

<sup>1673</sup> Dvār (White Yajurveda, XXX. 10; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 1. 1. 2); dvāra (Atharvaveda, X. 8. 48); durya (White Yajurveda, I. 11; Black Yajurveda, I. 6. 3. 1); duroṇa, signifying house itself (Atharvaveda, VI. 17. 3; White Yajurveda, XXXII. 72.)

<sup>1674</sup> Sthūpā (Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 63; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIV. 1. 3. 7);

sthūpā-rāja (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 1. 1. 11; III. 5. 1. 1; svaru (Atharvaveda, IV. 24. 4; XII. 1. 13); methi, with variants 'medhi,' 'methi,' or 'meṭhi' (Atharvaveda, VIII. 5. 20; XIV. 1. 40; Black Yajurveda, VI. 2. 9. 4; Kāthaka Saṃhitā XXXV. 8; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa I. 29. 22; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 5. 3. 21; Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XIII. 9. 17; Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa I. 19. 1).

<sup>1675</sup> Rigveda, V. 62. 7, 8.

<sup>1676</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, II. 24. 6, 10, 15.

<sup>1677</sup> E. B. Havell—History of Aryan Rule in India, p. 25.



resolve geometrical problems such as constructing a circle equal in area to a square and vice-versa. The laying out of the Indo-Aryan village is treated in the Śilpaśāstras as the preparation of sacrificial ground. I have, therefore, considered it justifiable to refer it historically to the Vedic period and to connect it with the camp or fortified settlement of the early Aryan invaders." In a later volume Mr. Havell writes that subsequent investigations confirm his foregoing observations. He says "If it be true—as the Russian scholar Sheftdovich, asserts—that the Kassites who took Babylon in 1766 B. C. and established a dynasty there which lasted for 600 years were Aryans speaking Vedic Sanskrit whose chief god was Sūryya, Babylon must be regarded as a half-way house of the Aryan race in its march towards the Indus valley and some, at least of the early Aryan tribes must have acquired, before they entered India, not only the high spiritual culture which is reached in the Rīgveda, but a prolonged experience of the civic arts, including architecture. Recent German excavations on the site of Babylon show that the science of building in Vedic times had advanced much further than has hitherto been suspected." (E. B. Havell—Ancient and Mediæval Architecture, p. 3.)

Indeed the plan of the towns and their denominations were identical with those of the geometrical figures that had to be drawn on the sacrificial altars. These figures suggested the plans and the names. And the description of the cities of Ayodhyā and Lañkā as preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa seems to show that they were built according to a definite plan and are in wonderful agreement with the principles laid down in the later Śilpaśāstras. Thus we are told that the city of Lañkā was situated on the top of a hill,<sup>1678</sup> surrounded on all sides by a wall<sup>1678</sup> and outside the wall was a ditch surrounding the city.<sup>1678</sup> The ancient town-planners were not slow to seize the slightest opportunity to make the city as picturesque as they could. Accordingly, in the ditch were carefully nurtured lotus and lily plants<sup>1678</sup> The ditch was spanned by bridges in front of each of the many gates which pierced the wall surrounding the city.<sup>1678</sup> Inside the city were roads which were broad and well-divided.<sup>1678</sup> There were rows of beautiful houses plastered with lime.<sup>1678</sup>

<sup>1678</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa 2nd sarga.

The royal palace was surrounded by a wall pierced by many beautiful gates.<sup>1679</sup> It contained *latāgrha*,<sup>1679</sup> *citraśālā* <sup>1679</sup> *kriḍāgrha*,<sup>1679</sup> *kāmāgrha*,<sup>1679</sup> *divāvihāra-grha* <sup>1679</sup> and even artificial mountains made of wood <sup>1679</sup> besides many orchards <sup>1679</sup> and gardens.<sup>1679</sup> The famous Aśoka forest with its rows of flower and fruit trees planted in their proper order by skilful silviculturists, its well excavated tanks with their beautiful steps, its raised seats, rest-houses and *latāgrha*'s vied in beauty with the *Nandana-kānana* of Indra, the Garden of *Brahmā* or the *Chaitra-ratha* of *Kuvera*.<sup>1680</sup> Near the royal palace were the houses of *Prāśasta*, *Mahāpārśva*, *Kumbhakarṇa*, *Vibhiṣaṇa* and other notables of the kingdom.<sup>1679</sup> The city also contained *savāgrha*'s,<sup>1681</sup> *goṣṭhaśālā*'s <sup>1681</sup> and *yantrāgāra*'s.<sup>1681</sup> In fact, the buildings were so faultlessly constructed that they appeared to have been made by *Mayadānava* himself.<sup>1682</sup> The city has, therefore, been described as a mind-wrought city in the air, of *Viśwakarman*.<sup>1679</sup> It is likened to a woman with the walls and ramparts for her thighs,<sup>1678</sup> the wide expanse of water (in the ditch) and the surrounding jungles for her clothes,<sup>1678</sup> the *śataghnī* (guns ?) and *śūlāstra* for her locks of hair,<sup>1678</sup> the palaces for her ornaments<sup>1678</sup> and the *yantrāgāra*'s for her breasts.<sup>1681</sup>

Similarly, the city of *Ayodhyā* is said to have been built by *Manu*.<sup>1683</sup> It was twelve *yojanas* in length and three *yojanas* in breadth.<sup>1683</sup> It was surrounded by a deep moat, which made it difficult of access.<sup>1683</sup> It was divided by one broad road which was met by other fine streets all regularly watered.<sup>1683</sup> The city was founded on a plain <sup>1683</sup> and had many stout arched gates with large door-panels.<sup>1683</sup> In the middle of the city were rows of shops.<sup>1683</sup> In all quarters of the city were theatres, pleasure-gardens, mango-groves and avenues of *śāla* trees.<sup>1683</sup> Its innumerable palaces high like hills,<sup>1683</sup> sport-houses for ladies,<sup>1683</sup> tanks,<sup>1683</sup> *chaityas*,<sup>1684</sup> temples,<sup>1684</sup> *yajñaśālās* <sup>1684</sup> and *pānaśālā*'s <sup>1685</sup>—all enhanced its beauty and magnificence. The buildings were not constructed in an irregular fashion, for, there was co-operation in alignment and structure (*Suniveśitaveśmāntam*).

<sup>1679</sup> Ibid., 6th sarga.

<sup>1680</sup> Ibid., *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 52nd sarga.

<sup>1681</sup> Ibid., *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 3rd sarga.

<sup>1682</sup> Ibid., 7th sarga.

<sup>1683</sup> Ibid., *Bālakāṇḍa*, 5th sarga.

<sup>1684</sup> Ibid., *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 71st sarga.

<sup>1685</sup> Ibid., 100th sarga.

In consonance with this great attention to town-planning the people developed a high tone of civic consciousness. In the Rāmāyaṇa the city of Ayodhyā and everything in it fill the poet with delight. "He loses himself in the thought of its palaces, its arches and its towers. But it is when he comes to paint Lañkā that we reap the finest fruit of that civic consciousness which Ayodhyā had developed in him. There is nothing in all Indian literature, of greater significance for the modern Indian mind than the scene in which Hanumāna contends in the darkness with the woman who guards the gates saying in muffled tones "I am the city of Lañkā."\*<sup>1686</sup> Such a civic sense was quite probable because the cities in ancient times were more than centres of trade and corporate life; they were the ultimate resorts of the people against hostile invasion.

**The occupations**—We have already seen that the Rigveda shows germs of a social division, arising out of the adoption of different occupations by different sections of the community. An idea as to the enormous extent to which division of labour was carried out in this period will be evident from the following list of principal occupations most of which are described in the White Yajurveda<sup>1687</sup> in connection with the victims of the Puruṣamedha ceremony :—

(a) *Agricultural occupations*—Besides the husbandman<sup>1688</sup> we hear of various agricultural labourers : (1) ploughman (kīṇasa, kṛṣīvala),<sup>1689</sup> (2) sower (vāpa),<sup>1690</sup> (3) one employed in husking (dhānyakṛt)<sup>1691</sup> and (4) woman employed in grinding corn (upalaprakṣiṇī)<sup>1692</sup>

(b) *Industrial occupations*—Of those engaged in the various industrial arts the following are important : (5) smelter (dhmātr),<sup>1693</sup> (6) black-

\* Ahaṃ hi nagarī Lañkā svayameva  
plavaṅgama—Sundarakāṇḍa, 3rd  
sarga.  
<sup>1686</sup> Sister Niveditā—Civic and National  
Ideals, pp. 6-7.  
<sup>1687</sup> Chapters XVI and XXX.  
<sup>1688</sup> Ath rvaveda, VI. 116. 1.

<sup>1689</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 11.

<sup>1690</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>1691</sup> Ibid., XVI. 33.

<sup>1692</sup> Rigveda, IX. 112. 3.

<sup>1693</sup> White Yajurveda XXX. 14. Compare smelting of ores (aśman) in  
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI. 1. 3. 5.



smith (karmāra),<sup>1694</sup> (7) arrow-maker (iṣukāra),<sup>1695</sup> (8) female scabbard-maker,<sup>1696</sup> (9) goldsmith (hiranyakāra, suvarṇakāra),<sup>1697</sup> (10) jeweller (maṇikāra),<sup>1698</sup> (11) carpenter (taṣṭr, takṣaka,<sup>1700</sup> sūtradhāra<sup>1701</sup>), (12) carver (peśitr),<sup>1702</sup> (13) chariotmaker (rathakāra),<sup>1703</sup> (14) bowmaker (dhanuṣkāra),<sup>1704</sup> (15) bowstring maker (jyākāra),<sup>1705</sup> (16) ropemaker (rajjukāra),<sup>1706</sup> (17) woman who splits cane,<sup>1707</sup> (18) basketmaker (vidalakāri),<sup>1708</sup> (19) woman who works in thorns,<sup>1709</sup> (20) weaver (vāya),<sup>1710</sup> (21) weaver of rugs (kambala-kāra),<sup>1711</sup> (22) female weaver (vāyitri),<sup>1712</sup> (23) woman who embroiders (peśakāri),<sup>1713</sup> (24) female dyer (rajayitri),<sup>1714</sup> (25) female ointment-maker,<sup>1715</sup> (26) scent-maker (gandhajivī),<sup>1716</sup> (27) stone-carver (prakaritr),<sup>1717</sup> (28) leather-worker (carmanna,<sup>1718</sup> carma-

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| 1694 | White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, III. 3                    | 1711 | Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.   |
| 1695 | White Yajurveda, XVI. 46 ; XXX. 17.  | 1712 | Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 9 ; compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13ff.  |
| 1696 | Ibid., XXX. 14.  | 1713 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 9.  |
| 1697 | Ibid., 17 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga ; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 4. 4. | 1714 | Ibid., 12.  |
| 1698 | White Yajurveda XXX. 7 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.                       | 1715 | Ibid., 14.  |
| 1699 | Atharvaveda, X. 6. 3 ; White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; XXX. 6.                          | 1716 | Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.   |
| 1700 | Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.   | 1717 | A remarkable feature found in the śmaśāna of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the regulation : "Let there be citras on the back of the 'Śmaśāna'" "for 'citras' mean offspring" (The commentator takes it as natural scenery ; this is absurd, specially as natural scenery is suggested as an alternative in the following lines). In the case of the stone-built round reliquary the most suitable citras would be sculptured figures in relief. It is interesting to compare the account in the Epic of the representation of the fertility goddess Jarā on the palace walls of the king of Girivraja, of a plump woman with children all around. |
| 1701 | Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th and 83rd sargas.   | 1718 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 15.   |
| 1702 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 12.  |      |   |
| 1703 | Ibid., XVI. 27 ; XXX. 6.   |      |   |
| 1704 | Ibid., XVI. 46 ; XXX. 7.   |      |   |
| 1705 | Ibid., XXX. 7.   |      |   |
| 1706 | Ibid. ; Black Yajurveda, VII. 2. 4. 2 ; compare Aitareya Āraṇyaka, I. 2. 3. 9-10.  |      |   |
| 1707 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 8.   |      |   |
| 1708 | Compare round mats of muñja grass for ritual use in White Yajurveda, XII. 2.       |      |   |
| 1709 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 5.   |      |   |
| 1710 | See Vedio Index, sv. Vāya.   |      |   |

śilpi,<sup>1719</sup> carma-chchhedaka<sup>1720</sup> and (29) Potter (mr̥tpaca,<sup>1721</sup> kumbhakāra<sup>1722</sup>),

(c) *Priestly occupations*—The priestly class who earned their livelihood by officiating in sacrifices, by teaching the sacred lore or in other ways ministering to the spiritual needs of the community came to be divided into the following classes :—(30) the ṛtvig or hotṛ—the leading priest who while the sacrifice was being performed recited hymns of praise in honour of the particular god he was worshipping ; (31) the udgātr—the priest who sang the sāmans or hymns in praise of the Soma plant hypostatized and regarded as god ; (32) adhvaryu—the priest who was concerned with the manual acts of sacrificing (33) astrologer (gaṇaka,<sup>1723</sup> nakṣatradarśa<sup>1724</sup>), (34) weather-prophet (sakadhūmam),<sup>1725</sup> one who foretells the weather by the way in which smoke rises from a fire of cowdung and (35) physician (bhiṣak<sup>1726</sup> vaidyaka).<sup>1727</sup>

(d) *Domestic and Menial occupations*—In addition to the above we find the (36) shepherd (avipala),<sup>1728</sup> (37) the cowherd (gopa),<sup>1730</sup> (38) goatherd (ajapala),<sup>1731</sup> (39) elephant-keeper (hastipa),<sup>1732</sup> (40) horse-keeper (aśvapa),<sup>1733</sup> (41) driver of horses,<sup>1734</sup> (42) charioteers,<sup>1735</sup> (43) cook,<sup>1736</sup> (44) servant,<sup>1737</sup> (45) houseguard,<sup>1738</sup> (46) washerman,<sup>1739</sup>

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| <sup>1719</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.   | <sup>1727</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.  |
| <sup>1720</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.   | <sup>1728</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 11.  |
| <sup>1721</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 27 ; XXX. 7 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, I. 8. 3 ; Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, II. 6 ; III. 31.   | <sup>1729</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>1722</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.  | <sup>1730</sup> Ibid., XVI. 7.   |
| <sup>1723</sup> Ibid. Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.   | <sup>1731</sup> Ibid., XXX. 11.  |
| <sup>1724</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 10 ; XXX. 20.  | <sup>1732</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>1725</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 1, 4. Compare Kauṣika Sūtra, XXX. 13. Bloomfield in American Journal of Philology, VII. pp. 484-88 ; Weber-Omina et Portenta, p. 363 ; Zimmer—Altindisches Leben, p. 353. | <sup>1723</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>1726</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 10 ; Black Yajurveda, V. 4. 9. 2.  | <sup>1734</sup> Ibid., XVI. 26.  |
|  | <sup>1735</sup> Ibid.  |
|  | <sup>1736</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.  |
|  | <sup>1737</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga ; White Yajurveda, XXX. 13.                         |
|  | <sup>1738</sup> Gṛhapa, White Yajurveda, XXX. 11 ; dvārapa, Ibid., 13 ; pāyu, puruṣa, Ibid., 20. |
|  | <sup>1739</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.  |



(47) washer-woman,<sup>1740</sup> (48) barber (vaptr),<sup>1741</sup> (49) waiter (parivestr, paricara),<sup>1742</sup> (50) messenger (pālāgala)<sup>1743</sup> and (51) bath-attendant (upsekr)<sup>1744</sup>

(e) *Recreational occupations* — Besides these there were others who earned their living by amusing the public specially the richer sections of it. Such were the (52) drummer<sup>1745</sup> (53) lute-player<sup>1746</sup> (54) flute-blower<sup>1747</sup> (55) musician<sup>1748</sup> (56) public dancer<sup>1749</sup> (57) minstrel (māgadha)<sup>1750</sup> (58) actor (naṭa)<sup>1751</sup> (59) artist (śilpi)<sup>1752</sup> (60) painter (citraśilpavid)<sup>1753</sup> (61) artificer<sup>1754</sup> (62) magician<sup>1755</sup> (63) question-solver<sup>1756</sup> (64) jester<sup>1757</sup> (65) keeper of gambling houses (sabhāvin)<sup>1758</sup> (66) pole-dancer or acrobat (vaṃśanartaka)<sup>1759</sup> (67) prize-fighter<sup>1760</sup> and (68) woman who deals in love-charms.<sup>1761</sup>

(f) *Other non-industrial occupations* — No less important were the occupations of the following non-industrial groups: (69) hunter (govikartana),<sup>1762</sup> (70) fisherman,<sup>1763</sup> (71) fishvender,<sup>1764</sup> (72) merchant,<sup>1765</sup>

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| 1740 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 12.  | 1753 | Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 15th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga; Kāthopaniṣad, II. 6. 5 and 17.                |
| 1741 | Rigveda, X. 142. 4   | 1754 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 7.  |
| 1742 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 9.   | 1755 | Atharvaveda, XIX. 27. 5; compare abhidhyātur vistrītir iva in Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VII. 1; VII. 8. |
| 1743 | Ibid., 13.   | 1756 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 10.   |
| 1744 | Ibid., 12.   | 1757 | Ibid., 20.  |
| 1745 | Ibid., 19.   | 1758 | Ibid., 18.  |
| 1746 | Ibid., 19, 20.   | 1759 | Ibid., 21.  |
| 1747 | Ibid.  | 1760 | Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VII. 8.   |
| 1748 | Ibid., XXX. 20; Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga.  | 1761 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 9.  |
| 1749 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 6; Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, VII. 8; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga; Uttarakāṇḍa, 107th sarga.                                    | 1762 | Ibid., XVI. 28; XXX. 7.   |
| 1750 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 5, 22.   | 1763 | Ibid., XVI. 27; XXX. 8, 16; Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, I. 4. 3.   |
| 1751 | Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga. Compare: changing dress in a moment like an actor in Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, IV. 2; VII. 8. | 1764 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 16.   |
| 1752 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 6; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 13th sarga.  | 1765 | White Yajurveda, XVI. 19; XXX. 17; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.                                      |



(73) banker (śreṣṭhin),<sup>1766</sup> (74) usurer (kusidin),<sup>1767</sup> (75) wood-ranger,<sup>1768</sup> (76) wood bringer,<sup>1769</sup> (77) forest fire-guard,<sup>1770</sup> (78) boatman (nāvāja), (79) mason,<sup>1771</sup> (80) sudhālepakāra,<sup>1772</sup> (81) bedhakāra,<sup>1773</sup> (82) vastra-sīvanakāra,<sup>1774</sup> and (83) śāstrajīvi.<sup>1775</sup>

**Labour—(a) Free labourers : change in their social status—**With the elevation of the princely and priestly classes, the agricultural and industrial population lost the social status they once enjoyed. We have seen that in early Vedic times the rathakīras as the builders of his war-chariots were on terms of friendly intimacy with the king. They were, moreover, regarded as the representatives of the Ribhus, those ancient artificers whose wondrous skill obtained for them a place among the gods.<sup>1776</sup> In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, however, they appear as a special class along with the vaiśyas and have through their devotion to a mechanical art, lost status as compared with ordinary freemen. Similarly, though the physician's skill was highly lauded in the Rīgveda the germs of the later dislike for his profession are to be found in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1777</sup> The position of the vaiśyas, the mass of the industrial population also underwent a change, for, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they came to be regarded as being tributary to another (anyasya valikṛt) and their function was to be devoured by the priest and the nobleman.<sup>1778</sup> The industrial population, however, tried to improve their position towards the end of this period by organising themselves into guilds.

**(b) Slave labour—**In this period agricultural work was mostly done, as before, by the freemen of the tribe along with their sons and kinsmen. Gradually, however, there arose various labouring classes recruited from the landless poor or conquered enemies. We have already seen that the

<sup>1766</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 30. 3 ;  
Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, XXVIII. 6 ;  
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 4. 10 ;  
Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20.

<sup>1767</sup> Compare Atharvaveda, VI. 46. 3—  
Rīgveda, VIII. 47. 17.

<sup>1768</sup> White Yajurveda, XXX. 19.

<sup>1769</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>1770</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>1771</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 80th sarga.

<sup>1772</sup> Ibid., 83rd sarga.

<sup>1773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1774</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1775</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1776</sup> Rīgveda, I. 20,

<sup>1777</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 4. 9. 1-2.

<sup>1778</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 29. 3.

Rigveda refers to dāsa's who could be gifted away,<sup>1779</sup> so that they must have been in some sort of bondage. In another hymn of the Rigveda<sup>1780</sup> we are told that King Trasadasya, son of Purukutsa gave its composer fifty vadhū's. As these young women were gifted away they must have been in some sort of bondage. In the Atharvaveda we read of dāsī's husking and pounding the rice<sup>1781</sup> or collecting the alkaline droppings of the cow.<sup>1782</sup> The word dāsa which usually denotes a slave does not, however, always mean a slave ; for all non-sacrificers were called dāsa's.<sup>1783</sup> It is also worthy of note that though we have mention of gifts of slaves we have none of slave-markets. This absence of slave-markets may be taken to mean that slaves were never largely employed and that the institution of slavery never attained that importance which it did in Greece or Rome or in the social system of the Semetic countries.

(c) *Female Labour*—In this period we find a large number of women earning their livelihood by husking and grinding corn<sup>1784</sup>, working as dāsī's,<sup>1785</sup> weaving,<sup>1786</sup> splitting cane,<sup>1787</sup> working in thorns,<sup>1788</sup> doing embroidery work,<sup>1789</sup> dealing in love-charms,<sup>1790</sup> washing<sup>1791</sup> and dying clothes<sup>1792</sup> and making scabbards<sup>1793</sup> and ointments.<sup>1794</sup> An interesting reference to the position of women with regard to agriculture is to be found in the Taittiriya<sup>1795</sup> and Śatapatha Brāh-

1779 See ante, fn. No. 592.

1780 VIII. 19. 36.

1781 Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 13.

1782 Ibid., XII. 4. 9.

1783 Rigveda, V. 34. 6 ; X. 83. 19. The Yadus and Turvaśas were Aryan tribes but as they seceded from the Vedic faith they had been described as Dāsa kings (Rigveda, X. 62. 10) Bṛhadratha and Navavāstya became favourites of Agni by their performance of sacrifices (Rigveda, I. 36. 8) but both were afterwards killed by Indra, probably because of their subsequent heterodoxy and were called dāsas (Rigveda, X. 49. 6).

1784 Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 13.

1785 Ibid., XII. 3. 13 ; XII. 4. 9 ; V. 22. 6.

1786 Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 9. Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2. 13ff.

1787 White Yajurveda, XXX. 8.

1788 Ibid.

1789 Ibid. 9.

1790 Ibid.

1791 Ibid., 12.

1792 Ibid.

1793 Ibid., 14.

1794 Ibid.

1795 III. 3. 10. In the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra II. 17. 18 we are told that 'women should make accompanying oblations [in the sacrifice to the rustic deity of the furrow (sītā)] because such is the custom.'



manas<sup>1796</sup> where we are told that in the harvest-offering ritual "as a rule the wife of the sacrificer was present, with hands joined to her husband." This participation of women can be explained by the fact that in primitive times the duties of agriculture lay, for the most part, in the hands of women.<sup>1797</sup> After tracing the historical development of this portion of the sacrifice<sup>1798</sup> Jevons remarks: "It is, therefore, an easy guess that the cultivation of plants was one of women's contributions to civilisation and it is in harmony with this conjecture that the cereal duties are usually both in the Old World as in the New, female." Agriculture, however, when its benefits became thoroughly understood, was not allowed among civilised races to continue to be the exclusive prerogative of women and the Corn goddess, maiden or mother, had to admit within the circle of her worshippers, the men as well as the women of the tribe.

**Caste system in relation to mobility of labour**—In this period, the caste-system was getting stereotyped. Besides the priesthood and the nobility there comes into existence a new factor, the introduction of divisions among the ordinary freemen—the Vaiśyas. In this development, there must have been two main influences—the force of occupation and the influence of the aborigines. We have already seen how in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa the chariotmakers, the type of skilled workers in the Rigveda, have through their devotion to a mechanical art, lost status as compared with ordinary freemen. Similarly, in the Rigveda the healing art is highly lauded and the Aświns, the divine physicians are repeatedly invoked; but by the time of the Black Yajurveda, the physician lost his previous high position, for, we read "The gods said of these two (the Aświns): impure are they, wandering among men and physicians. Therefore a brāhmaṇa should not

<sup>1796</sup> II. 5. 2. 20.

<sup>1797</sup> Jevons—Introduction to the History of Religion, pp. 240—41.

<sup>1798</sup> The gradual transition from the early sacrifice of human beings to the stage in which horses tended by man during the pastoral stage

were sacrificed, thence to the substitution of various animals as they became domesticated ending with the offering of fruits of the earth, when agriculture became widely known, is set forth as a recognised fact in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.



practice medicine, for the physician is impure, unfit for the sacrifice".<sup>1799</sup> Moreover, contact with the aborigines<sup>1800</sup> must have raised questions of purity of blood very much like those which at present agitate the southern states of the U. S. A. or the White people in South Africa.

In deciding the question how far the caste system stood as a barrier against the mobility of labour and the people were tied down to the rigidity of a social system in which hereditary occupation was allotted to its members it is necessary that we should divest our mind of prejudices and guard ourselves against associating modern ideas with the old state of things. We are accustomed to say that the brāhmaṇas alone could be priests, they alone could teach the Vedas, whereas we have evidences which tend to prove that at least in the earliest times they alone were brāhmaṇas who possessed a knowledge of the Vedas and could perform the function of a priest. Rules were indeed laid down that no body should serve as a priest who could not prove his descent from three (according to Kauṣītaki Sūtra) or ten (according to Latyāyana Sūtra) generations of ṛṣi's. But these very rules prove indirectly that the unbroken descent in a brāhmaṇa line was yet an ideal and not an actuality.

We have, however, not to depend upon negative proof alone to establish our thesis. Authentic ancient texts repeatedly declare that it is knowledge and not descent, that makes a brāhmaṇa. In the Black Yajurveda we read "Eṣa, vai brāhmaṇa ṛṣirārṣeṇo yaḥ śusravan." (VI. 6.1.4) "He who has learning is the brāhmaṇa ṛṣi." Again, we have in the Kāṭhaka (XXX. I) and Maitrāyaṇi (XLVIII. 1; CVII. 9) Saṃhitās: "Kim brāhmaṇasya pitaram kiṃ tu pṛchchhasi mātaram." The Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa<sup>1801</sup> speaks of certain persons as royal seers and the later tradition preserved in the Anukramaṇi or Index to the composers of the Rigveda ascribes hymns to such royal seers. The hymns No. 30-34 of the tenth maṇḍala of the Rigveda were composed by Kavasha, son of Illuṣha, a low caste woman. In fact, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1802</sup> refers to his acceptance

<sup>1799</sup> Black Yajurveda, VI. 4. 9. 1—2.

<sup>1800</sup> Compare the case of Kavasha.

<sup>1801</sup> XII. 12. 6.

<sup>1802</sup> II. 3. 19.

as a ṛṣi for purity, learning and wisdom. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1803</sup> refers to royal seers like Viśwāmitra, Devapi and Janaka. Viśwāmitra, the Purohita of King Sudas is described in the Pañchavimśa and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas as of royal descent, of the family of the Jahnus. Yāska<sup>1804</sup> represents a prince named Devapi sacrificing for his brother Śantanu, the king. Similarly, king Viśwantara sacrifices without the help of priests in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Upaniṣads tell us of kings like Janaka of Videha,<sup>1805</sup> Aśwapati, king of the Kekayas in the Punjab,<sup>1806</sup> Ajātaśatru of Kāśī,<sup>1807</sup> and Pravahana Jābāla of Pāñchāla<sup>1808</sup> disputing with and instructing brahmins in the lore of the Brahmā. The Chhāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>1809</sup> tells us how a brahmin imparts knowledge to a śūdra accepting presents and taking his daughter for his wife. The Jaiminiya Upaniṣad speaks of a king becoming a seer. Another case of interest is that of Satyakāma Jāvāla who was accepted as a pupil by a distinguished priest, because he showed promise, although he could not tell of his ancestry.<sup>1810</sup> Jāvāla, it may be noted, became the founder of a school of the Yajurveda. In the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1811</sup> a brahmin is seen earning his livelihood by ploughing with no stigma attached to his action. Moreover, who was Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa itself, but a śūdra ?

**Craft-guilds**—The question now presents itself whether there existed in this period industrial combinations called craft-guilds. Geldner and Roth find references to them in the Brāhmaṇas but there are other Vedic scholars who hold the opposite view. No doubt, considered by themselves merely as literary passages, these references seem to be doubtful indications of a formal and well-defined institution ; but if we combine with the literary evidence, the evidence of history, the evidence furnished by the evolution of Aryan life, much of the uncertainty of the purely literary evidences will disappear. No doubt guild-life belongs to a consider-

<sup>1803</sup> XI. 6. 2. 1.

<sup>1804</sup> II. 10.

<sup>1805</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XI. 6. 2. 1.

<sup>1806</sup> Ibid., X. 6. 11 ; Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 11.

<sup>1807</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, II. 1 ; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 1.

<sup>1808</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, I. 8ff. ; V. 3. 1ff ; Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, VI. 2. 1ff.

<sup>1809</sup> IV. 2.

<sup>1810</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 4.

<sup>1811</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.



ably advanced stage of economic progress in which individual mechanics, artisans and traders have sufficient business instinct developed in them and have achieved sufficient success in their respective businesses to appreciate the necessity of organising themselves into a community for the purpose of promoting their individual and collective interest. But we have already seen the enormous extent to which the differentiation of economic occupations was carried on and the remarkable progress which the arts and crafts achieved in this period. And this will lead any sober and unbiassed historian to the conclusion that those scholars who choose to find in certain passages of the Brāhmaṇas proofs of the existence of guilds cannot very well be considered as guilty of making any extravagant claim and taking up an untenable position.

Let us now proceed to the passages themselves. In the White Yajurveda<sup>1812</sup> we have the word *gaṇa* besides *gaṇapati*, which means the headman of a *gaṇa*. *Gaṇa* in later Sanskrit always means a guild or corporate union. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad<sup>1813</sup> we read "Sa naib vybhavata. Sa viśamasṛjata yānyetāni devajātāni gaṇāśaḥ ākhyāyante." Commentator Śaṅkarācārya says :—"Kṣhātrasṛstopi sa naiva vyābhavat karmaṇe brahma tayā vyābhavat vittopārjjanyiturabhāvāt. Sa viśamasṛjata kārmasādhana-vittopārjjanāya. Kaḥ punarasou biṭ? Yānyetāni devajātāni, svārthe niṣṭhīya ete devajātibhedā ityarthāḥ gaṇāśa gaṇam gaṇam ākhyāyante kathyante gaṇaprāyā hi viśaḥ. Prāyena samhatya hi vittopārjjanasamarthāḥ naikaikaśaḥ" Thus the gods of the Vaiśya class were called *gaṇāśaḥ* on the analogy of their human prototype because they could earn money evidently by industry and trade, not by their individual efforts but in a corporate body. We have also certain passages which contain the word *śreṣṭhin*,<sup>1814</sup> meaning according to Hopkins a modern seth (banker) or more probably, according to Macdonell, the headman of a guild.<sup>1815</sup> Metaphorical and indirect allusions to *gaṇa* and *śreṣṭhi* made in order to explain obtruse philosophical subjects show that they were already well-known existences within the

<sup>1812</sup> XXIII 19. 1.

<sup>1813</sup> I. 4. 12.

<sup>1814</sup> Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, XXVIII. 6;  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. III. 39, 3;  
Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, IV. 20.

<sup>1815</sup> According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa  
(III. 1. 4. 10) Bhaga was the Śreṣṭh  
of the gods.



range of common observation and the allusions are warranted on the logical principle of arguing from the known to the unknown, of explaining the unfamiliar and the abstract from the familiar and the concrete. This is further corroborated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>1816</sup> where we are told that in the procession of citizens who accompanied Bharata in his quest of Rāma figured merchants, jewellers, potters carpenters, goldsmiths, physicians, wine-distillers, tailors etc., so that the *Rāmāyaṇa* recognises the position held by trades and crafts in society.

**Domestic and Foreign trade**—The striking development of industrial life and the consequent sub-division of occupations made self-supporting life an impossibility and gave greater scope to the interchange of the products of agriculture and industry. Unfortunately from the evidences at our disposal we can gather very meagre information about the interchange of commodities of various localities. The *Atharvaveda* describes the guggula (bdellium) as “produced from Sindhu” or coming from the sea; <sup>1817</sup> Varāṇa, a plant used in medicine and supposed to possess magical powers is described as *Varāṇavatyām*,<sup>1818</sup> growing on the banks of *Varāṇavati* lake or river and bartered for coverings (pavasta), skins of goats (ajina) and woven cloths (dūrśa).<sup>1819</sup> Horses are described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*<sup>1820</sup> as “coming from the Indus regions” (Saindhava). Salt is similarly described as “coming from the Indus” in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*.<sup>1821</sup> From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that Kamboja, Bahllika and Sind were famous for horses<sup>1822</sup> and that elephants of the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions were famous for their large size and great strength.<sup>1823</sup> The excess production as well as excellence of production of particular localities induced energetic men to carry them to other places where these could be disposed of with profit. Such men were called the *Vanij*<sup>1824</sup> or merchant, who in a hymn of the *Atharvaveda*

<sup>1816</sup> *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 83rd sarga.

<sup>1817</sup> *Atharvaveda*, XIX. 38. 2.

<sup>1818</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 7. 6.

<sup>1819</sup> XI. 5. 5. 12.

<sup>1820</sup> VI. 1. 13.

<sup>1821</sup> II. 4. 12. Compare *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 13. 1-2.

<sup>1822</sup> *Bālakāṇḍa*, 6th sarga.

<sup>1823</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1824</sup> *White Yajurveda*, XXX. 17; *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 4. 14. 1.

is made to speak of "the distant pathway which his feet have trodden" and to address the gods in the following strain :—

"I stir and animate the merchant Indra ; may he  
 approach and be our guide and leader  
 Chasing ill-will, wild beast, and highway robber,  
 may he who hath the power give me riches.

\* \* \* \*

Propitious unto us be sale and bater, may  
 interchange of merchandise enrich me ;  
 Accept ye twain (Agni and Indra) accordant, this  
 libation ! Prosperous be our ventures and incomings.  
 The wealth wherewith I carry on my traffic, seeking,  
 ye gods ! wealth with the wealth I offer,  
 May this grow more for me, not less : O Agni,  
 through sacrifice chase those who hinder profit."

For the conduct of this trade there were roads and travellers' rest-houses. The Atharvaveda refers not only to the parirathyā<sup>1826</sup> or road suitable for chariots but also to well-made cart-roads on a higher level than adjoining fields, forests and other village tracks with great trees planted beside, passing through villages or towns and with occasional pairs of pillars (i. e., gateways, evidently near the approaches of some town) through which bridal processions pass.<sup>1827</sup> Every tirtha along the bridal route is said to be well-provided with drink, so that it must have been a rest-house like the prapatha's of the Rigveda.<sup>1828</sup> Indeed travelling seems to have been quite common in those days. The Atharvaveda has charms to ensure a prosperous journey<sup>1829</sup> and gives us the parting traveller's address to the houses of his village.<sup>1830</sup> Villages are sometimes described as connected with mahāpathas or high roads<sup>1831</sup> and

<sup>1826</sup> III. 15.

<sup>1826</sup> Atharvaveda, VIII. 8. 22.

<sup>1827</sup> Ibid., XIV. 1. 63 ; XIV. 2. 6, 8, 8, 9,  
 12.

<sup>1828</sup> I. 166. 9.

<sup>1829</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 55.

<sup>1830</sup> Ibid., VII. 60.

<sup>1831</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, IV. 17. 8 ;  
 Chhāndogya, Upaniṣad, VIII. 6. 2.



causeways (badvan) firmer than an ordinary road are known.<sup>1832</sup> Setu meaning a raised bank for crossing inundated land frequently occurs in the literature of this period.<sup>1833</sup>

Scholars are, however, divided in their opinion as whether this trade was carried on across the seas to foreign lands. Professor Keith observes "There is still no hint of sea-borne commerce or of more than river navigation, though we need not suppose that the sea was unknown, at least by hearsay, to the end of the period."<sup>1834</sup> But, as a matter of fact, we find distinct references to sea and to sea-voyages and at least indirect proof of sea-borne commerce in this period. That the sea was widely known will be evident from the use of the sea by way of simile in the following :—

"Whatever I eat I swallow up, even as the  
sea that swallows all."<sup>1835</sup>

"Raise thyself up like heaven on high and  
be exhaustless as the sea."<sup>1836</sup>

That the sea is not the Indus in flood will be evident from the existence of three seas<sup>1837</sup> and from the fact that in a passage of the Atharvaveda Varuṇa's throat evidently means the sea into which the seven rivers flow :

"Thou, Varuṇa, to whom belong the Seven Streams,  
art a glorious god.

The waters flow into thy throat as 'twere  
a pipe with ample mouth"<sup>1838</sup>

That the evaporation of sea-water went to form the clouds is clearly stated in the following verse : "Udirayata marutaḥ samudra stveṣo arko navaḥ utpātayātha." "Up from the sea lift your dread might, ye Maruts as

<sup>1832</sup> Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, I. 1. 4.

<sup>1833</sup> Black Yajurveda, III. 2. 2. 1 ; VI. 1. 4. 9 ; VI. 5. 3. 3 ; VII. 5. 8. 5 ;  
Kāthaka Samhitā, XXVII. 4 ;  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III. 35 ; Sata-  
patha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 2. 10. 1 ;  
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, II. 4. 2. 6 ;

Chhândogya Upaniṣad, VIII. 4. 1. 2 ;  
Bṛhadâranyaka Upaniṣad, IV. 4. 4.

<sup>1834</sup> Cambridge History of India, p. 136.

<sup>1835</sup> Ibid., VI. 135. 3. Compare VI. 135. 2.

<sup>1836</sup> Ibid., VI. 142. 2.

<sup>1837</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 27. 4.

<sup>1838</sup> Ibid., XX. 92. 9.



light and splendeur, send the vapour upward!"<sup>1839</sup> The White Yajurveda also refers to the sea: "Samudram gachchha svāhā, antarikṣam gachchha svāhā, daivam savitaram gachchha svāhā."<sup>1840</sup> "Go to the sea. Ail hail! Go to the air. All hail! Go to god Savitar. All hail!" In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we are told how Manu, the Indian Noah had directed to build a strong ship for carrying him safe from the floods which were prophesied by the Fish of the Fish-legend and how when the requisite ship was built, Manu was taken safe to the mountain.<sup>1841</sup> A string of words connected with navigation equally lends support to the view that extensive navigation existed in this period. Thus we have (1) aritram—This means an oar and we find ships propelled by one hundred oars: "Sunāvamāruheyamasravantīmanāgasam. Śatāritrāṇi svastaye".<sup>1842</sup> "May I ascend the goodly ship, free from defect, that leaketh not, moved by a hundred oars, for weal"; (2) aritr—rower of a ship: "eyatirvācamariteva nāvam";<sup>1843</sup> (3) nāvaprabhramśanam—the sliding down of the ship;<sup>1844</sup> (4) nau-maṇḍa—rudder of a ship. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to big ships having two rudders each;<sup>1845</sup> (5) nāvāja—pilot, boatman.<sup>1846</sup>

There are also passages which indicate that sea-voyages were undertaken in this period. Thus in the Rāmāyaṇa, Sugrīva asks his followers to go the cities and mountains in the islands of the sea in search of Sītā.<sup>1847</sup> In another passage they are asked to go to the land of the koṣakāras<sup>1848</sup> (the land where grows the worm which yields the thread of silken cloth), generally

<sup>1839</sup> Ibid., IV. 15. 5.

<sup>1840</sup> White Yajurveda, VI. 21.

<sup>1841</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 1. 1—10.

<sup>1842</sup> White Yajurveda. XXVII. 7.

<sup>1843</sup> Rigveda, II. 42. 1.

<sup>1844</sup> Atharvaveda, XIX. 39. 8. This seems to be connected with manoravasarpnam in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 8. 1. 6.

<sup>1845</sup> II. 3. 3. 15.

<sup>1846</sup> Ibid., II. 3. 3. 5.

<sup>1847</sup> Samudramavagādhāmścha parvatān pattanāni cha — Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1848</sup> Bhūmiścha koṣakārāṇāṃ in Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

identified with China. In a third passage they are asked to go to Yavadvīpa<sup>1849</sup> and Suvarṇadvīpa : <sup>1850</sup> "Yatnavanto Yavadvīpaṃ saptaṛājyo-paśobhitam. Suvarṇarūpyakadvīpaṃ suvarṇakarmanditam."<sup>1851</sup> In a fourth passage they are asked to go as far west as the Red sea : "Tato raktajalaṃ bhīmaṃ Lohitaṃ nāma sāgaram".<sup>1852</sup> Lastly, we have a passage which hints at preparations for a naval fight thus indicating a through knowledge and a universal use of the waterway : "Nāvāṃ śātānāṃ pañchānāṃ Kaivartānāṃ śatāṃ satam. Sannaddhānāṃ tathā yūnāṃ tiṣṭhantvitya bhyachodayat."<sup>1853</sup> "Let hundred of Kaivarta young men lie in wait in five hundred ships (to obstruct the enemy passages)".

The chief article of trade with China hinted in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1854</sup> was silk. Mr. J. Yeats in his *Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce* observes "The manufacture of silk among the Chinese claims a high antiquity, native authorities tracing it as a national industry for a period of 5000 years." This intercourse with China is corroborated by Professor La Couperie in his *Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation* which refers to the maritime intercourse of India with China as dating from about 680 B. C. when the sea-traders of the Indian Ocean founded a colony called Langga (after the Indian name Laṅkā or Ceylon) about the present Gulf of Kiao-tchoa.

According to Professor Keith "sea-borne commerce with Babylon cannot be proved for this epoch."<sup>1855</sup> The Bāveru Jātaka, however, relates the adventures of certain Indian merchants who took peacocks *by sea* to Babylon. No doubt the Jātaka goes back only to 400 B. C. but the folk-tale on which it is based must be much earlier. Moreover, we

<sup>1849</sup> Ptolemy has evidently adopted the name Jāvā for the Sanskrit yavadvīpa, the former being a Greek equivalent of the latter; while modern writers like Humboldt, call it the Barley Island.

<sup>1850</sup> Albiruni has observed that the Hindus call the Islands of the Malaya Archipelago by the general name of Suvarṇa Island. M. Rei-

naud interprets Yavadvīpa and Suvarṇadvīpa to mean the Islands of Java and Sumatra (vide *Journal Asiatique*, IV., p. 265).

<sup>1851</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga,

<sup>1852</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1853</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 84th sarga.

<sup>1854</sup> Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

<sup>1855</sup> Cambridge History of India, p. 144.



have already seen that Mr. H. Rassam found a beam of Indian cedar in the palace of Nabuchadnezzar III. (580 B. C.) at Birs Nimrud ; and of Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus. According to Mr. Hewitt this wood must have been sent *by sea* from some *sea-port* on the Malabar coast, for, it is only there that teak grew near enough to the sea, to be exported with profit in those early days.<sup>1856</sup> Further, Baudhāyana's condemnation of the Northern Aryans who took part in the sea-trade proves that they were not the chief agents though they had a considerable share in it. In the words of Mr. Kennedy "Maritime commerce between India and Babylon flourished in the 7th and 6th but more specially in the 6th century B. C. It was chiefly in the hands of the Dravidians, although Aryans had a share in it. And as Indian traders settled afterwards in Arabia and on the coast of Africa and as we find them settling at this very time on the coast of China, we cannot doubt that they had their settlements in Babylon also."<sup>1857</sup>

Indeed there are circumstantial evidences which go to prove that there existed some sort of intercourse between India on the one hand and Babylon, Assyria, Judæa and Persia on the other. Mr. Keith observes "It is indeed probable enough that even before the time of Darius, Cyrus of Persia had relations with tribes on the right bank of the Indus and Arrian<sup>1858</sup> asserts that the Assakenoi and the Astakenoi were subject to Assyrian kings."<sup>1859</sup> Dr. Winckler has pointed out that Shalmanesar IV. of Assyria (727—722 B. C.) received presents from Bactria and India, specially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants. In the *Historians' History of the World* we are told "The pictures on the black obelisk of Shalmanesar shows us such beasts as apes and elephants being brought as tributes to the conquerors or confirming in the most unequivocal way the belief based on Ktesias and Strabo that the Assyrians had commercial relations with India.....The first article which we may confidently assert the Babylonians to have obtained at least in part from these countries were precious stones,

<sup>1856</sup> Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888., p. 337.

<sup>1857</sup> Kennedy—Early commerce between India and Babylon in J. R. A. S. 1898.

<sup>1858</sup> Indica I. 3. (McCrindle's Trans. p. 179).

<sup>1859</sup> Cambridge History of India.



the use of which in seal-rings was very general among them. Ktesias says expressly that these came from India and that onyxes, sardines and the other stones used for seals were obtained in the mountains bordering [on the sandy desert.....The passage of Ktesias to which we have just referred contains some indications which relatively to onyxes appear to refer to the Ghat mountains, since he speaks of a hot country, not far from the sea. The circumstance of large quantities of onyxes coming out of these mountains at the present day, viz., the mountains near Cambay and Broach (the ancient Barygaza) must render this opinion so much the more probable as it was this very part of the Indian coast with which the ancients were most acquainted.....Also the Babylonians imported Indian dogs. The native country of these animals according to Ktesias was that whence the precious stones were obtained. And this account of the regions has been confirmed by Marco Polo who mentions that the large dogs of these regions were even able to overcome lions. A third and a no less certain class of productions which the Persians and the Babylonians obtained from this part of the world were dyes and amongst them the Cochineal or rather Indian *lākṣā*. The most ancient though not quite accurate description of this insect is also found in Ktesias."<sup>1860</sup>

**Weights and Measures**—The development of trade facilitated the growth of weights and measures. The *tūlā* or balance is mentioned in the White Yajurveda<sup>1861</sup> and in the Śatapatha Brahmana. Wooden vessels of definite size<sup>1862</sup> called *ūrdara* were used in measuring grains. Standards of weight were also invented. Thus the *kṛṣṇala* (berry of *abrus precatorius*) and *māsa* and some other grains were used as standards of weight in measuring precious metals.<sup>1862</sup>

**Methods and Media of Exchange**—In this period there was not only simple barter, proved by the evidence of words like *prapaṇa* (barter) and *pratipaṇa* (exchange of merchandise)<sup>1863</sup> but the use of gold as well as silver money. We have already seen that the *niska* of the Rigveda was

<sup>1860</sup> Historians' History of the World,  
Vol. I., pp. 484—90.

<sup>1861</sup> XXX. 17.

<sup>1862</sup> Macdonell & Keith—Vedic Index,  
Vol. I., p. 185.

<sup>1863</sup> Atharvaveda, III. 15. 4; IV. 7. 6.

not a mere metallic standard but a coin. The use of these niṣkas was also known in this period. The word occurs in many passages of the Atharva-veda<sup>1864</sup> and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1865</sup> describes a man as niṣkakaṇṭha, wearing a necklace of niṣka coins. The Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa<sup>1866</sup> refers to silver niṣka worn by a Vrātya chief.

A different kind of currency called śatamāna was known in this period. Reference to it occurs not only in the Taittiriya<sup>1867</sup> and Kāthaka Samhitā<sup>1868</sup> but also in the Taittiriya<sup>1869</sup> and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas; so that it seems to have been widely used as a metallic standard at least in those regions where the Taittiriya Samhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa were composed. It is interesting to note that the passage in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa I. 7. 6. 2 occurs also in the Taittiriya Samhitā<sup>1870</sup> thus proving that śatamāna was prevalent not only when the Brāhmaṇas were written but also in the early period when the Samhitā was composed. In Kāṇḍa V of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1871</sup> dealing with the Rājasūya, we have a section which treats of the Ratha-vimochaniya oblations; and in connection therewith, we are told that behind the right hind-wheel of the cart-stand, the king fastens two round śatamānas which he has afterwards to give to the brahmin priest as his fee for this ceremony. In another passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1872</sup> we read: "Three śatamānas are the sacrificial fee for this (offering) which he presents to the brahmin; for, the brahmin neither performs (like the adhvaryu) nor chants (like the udgātṛ) nor recites (like the hotṛ) and yet he is an object of worship: therefore he presents to the brahmin three śatamānas. Many other passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1873</sup> contain this reference to the śatamāna which was given as fee to the officiating priest in the sacrifice. No doubt Sayana takes śatamāna to denote a round plate but the case is not unlike that of Nāgojibhatta who commenting on a celebrated passage in the Mahābhāṣya has explained the Mauryas as idol-manufacturers. But just as no scholar

1864 V. 14. 3; V. 17. 14; XX. 131. 8.

1865 VIII. 22.

1866 XVII. 1. 14.

1867 II. 3. 11. 5; III. 2. 6. 3.

1868 XI. 8.

1869 I. 2. 7. 7; I. 7. 6. 2.

1870 II. 3. 11. 5; III. 2. 6. 3.

1871 V. 4. 3. 24, 25.

✓ 1872 V. 5. 5. 16.

1873 XII. 7. 2. 3; XIII. 2. 3. 2.



would now explain the Mauryas as idol-manufacturers but take them to denote Maurya princes only, so no one can explain the term Śatamāna in the way in which Sāyana has done. Śatamāna may, however, have been 100 mānas or gunja-berries in weight as explained by Sāyana and accepted by Professor Eggeling and as it is spoken of as vṛtta<sup>1874</sup> it must have been round in shape.

Another class of metallic standard has been mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa side by side with the śatamāna. Thus we read : "Suvaram hiraṇyama bhavati rūpasya eva ābharuddhai śatamānam bhavati śatayurbhai puruṣa."<sup>1875</sup> "Hiraṇyama dakṣhinā, suvarṇama śatamānam tasya oktaṃ."<sup>1876</sup> In both the above passages suvarṇa is associated with śatamāna and both are called hiraṇya or gold ; so that suvarṇa like śatamāna denotes a metallic standard, evidently of gold.

Another class of metallic standard called pāda is mentioned in the concluding kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where we are told that king Janaka of Videha celebrated a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon brahmins of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country. A curiosity sprang up in his mind as to who was the best reader of these brahmins. He collected a thousand kine and we are told that to every single horn of each cow were tied ten pādas and it was proclaimed that they should be taken away by him alone who is best cognisant with Brahman. Now what were these pādas ? It has been suggested by Bohtlingh and Roth and accepted by Professor Rhys Davids<sup>1877</sup> that the word pāda here denotes the fourth part of a certain gold weight and not a metallic standard. Are we then to suppose that as the cows were one thousand in number, as each cow had two horns and as each horn carried ten pādas, king Janaka ordered twenty thousand pieces of gold to be hammered out, each again weighing just one-fourth of a certain weight—all this just on the spur of the moment, when the idea of testing the erudition of brahmins occurred to him ? This idea, we are afraid, is too ridiculous for any scholar to entertain seriously in his mind. On the other hand, pāda is known to be the name

<sup>1874</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 3. 24.

<sup>1875</sup> Ibid., XII. 7. 2. 3.

<sup>1876</sup> Ibid., XIII. 2. 3. 2.

<sup>1877</sup> Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 3 n. 2.



of a metallic standard and has been referred to in Pāṇini's Sūtras<sup>1878</sup> and also in an inscription of the tenth century A. D.<sup>1879</sup> Only if pāda is taken to stand for a metallic standard, it is easy to understand that Janaka could at any moment get hold of twenty thousand such pādas from his treasury for being tied to the horns of the cows.<sup>1880</sup>

There is still another class of metallic standard referred to in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1881</sup> called kṛṣṇāla where we are told of a gift of kṛṣṇāla to each racer. Kṛṣṇāla denotes the well-known raktikā or gunjaberry and what kṛṣṇāla here means is a metallic standard possibly of gold weighing one gunjaberry. This receives confirmation from the fact that the Kāthaka Saṃhitā<sup>1882</sup> makes mention of hiraṇya kṛṣṇāla or gold kṛṣṇāla. In fact kṛṣṇāla continued to serve as a metallic standard as late as the age of the Manusamhitā.<sup>1883</sup>

The general economic condition of the masses and classes—By the time the Brāhmaṇas were composed the whole fertile plain of Northern India was appropriated and colonised by the Aryans. Agriculture became the principal occupation though cattle-rearing was not altogether neglected. Thrice a day the cows were driven out to graze<sup>1884</sup> and they were milked thrice<sup>1885</sup> as milk was required thrice daily for pouring libations into the sacred Household Fire. Villages were established in the midst of the conquered country—the conquered being pushed back to the hills or allowed to live on conditions of submission, service or tribute. These villages “were scattered over the country some close together, some far apart and were connected by roads.”<sup>1886</sup>

(1) *The dwelling of the ordinary householder*—Each village contained a number of families, each possessing its own separate dwelling. In the comparatively<sup>1887</sup> drier and hotter Upper Gangetic regions the entrance and

<sup>1878</sup> V. 1. 34.

<sup>1879</sup> Epigraphia Indica, I. 173. 23 and 178. 11.

<sup>1880</sup> The same story also occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, III. 1. 1ff.

<sup>1881</sup> I. 3. 6. 7.

<sup>1882</sup> XI. 4.

<sup>1883</sup> VIII. 215, 330; IX. 84; XI. 137.

<sup>1884</sup> Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 4. 9. 2.

<sup>1885</sup> Black Yajurveda, VII. 5. 3. 1.

<sup>1886</sup> Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 211.

<sup>1887</sup> Compare the sense of enclosure in ‘vraja’ and ‘vrjana.’

enclosure aspects of the dwelling house must naturally have been more prominent and the references to these features and their figurative use accordingly, occur in texts like the Rigveda which were mainly of Midlandic origin. With the march of Aryan arms into the rain-flooded Lower Gangetic valley the roof naturally had to be built carefully and we therefore find much care bestowed on the construction of the thatched roof in the house-construction outlined in the Atharvaveda<sup>1888</sup> which is pre-eminently a book of the Angirāsas, who are definitely located in and associated with the very same Lower Gangetic provinces in Paurāṇic tradition. In every house guests were welcomed and attended to in the āvasatha<sup>1889</sup> which seems to be a structure of some sort for the reception of guests on the occasion of feasts and sacrifices and afterwards came to be used in its literal sense of an abode for the first time in the Aitareya Upaniṣad.<sup>1890</sup> Every Vedic householder's house was supposed to have its own presiding Deity and his favour was constantly sought. The householder's warm attachment his sweet home will be evident from the parting traveller's address to the houses of his village :

"These houses we invoke, whereon the distant exile sets his thought  
Wherein dwells many a friendly heart : Let them be aware of our approach.

\* \* \* \* \*

Full of refreshment, full of charms, of laughter and felicity  
Be ever free from hunger, free from thirst ! Ye houses fear us not  
Try here and come not after me, prosper in every form and shape  
With happy fortune will I come. Grow more abundant still through me."<sup>1891</sup>

(2) *Domestic furniture and utensils*—The ordinary Vedic householder possessed wooden furniture like the pīṭha, tālpa and proṣṭha while the comparatively well-to-do people used the more comfortable bāhya, āsandi and the paryāṅka as well.<sup>1892</sup> Among the domestic utensils we find earthen

<sup>1888</sup> III. 12 ; IX. 3.

<sup>1889</sup> Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 5. (entertaining  
brahmins ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa)  
I. 1. 10, 6 ; III. 7. 4. 6 ; Satapatha

Brāhmaṇa, XII. 4. 4, 6 ; Chhāndogya  
Upaniṣad, IV. 1. 1.

<sup>1890</sup> III 12.

<sup>1891</sup> Atharvaveda, VII. 60. 3, 6 and 7

<sup>1892</sup> See ante, pages 137—38.



cooking pots (ukhā)<sup>1893</sup>, earthen pots like sthālī,<sup>1894</sup> kumbhī<sup>1895</sup> and karambhi,<sup>1896</sup> liquor-pots<sup>1897</sup> and āsecana [vessel to hold liquids such as meat-juice (yuṣān)]<sup>1898</sup>; skin bags for holding milk and other liquids;<sup>1899</sup> winnowing basket (sūrpa),<sup>1900</sup> wooden Soma tubs called droṇa-kalasa,<sup>1901</sup> wooden cups,<sup>1902</sup> wooden mortar and pestle for pounding rice<sup>1903</sup> and for extracting soma juice,<sup>1904</sup> fire-shovel or poker made of palāśa wood<sup>1905</sup>, wooden stirring prong,<sup>1906</sup> fork,<sup>1907</sup> and ladles of various kinds—the Sruva, Sruc, Dhruva, Juhu and Upabhṛt—already described.<sup>1908</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to the use of boxes (peṭakas)<sup>1909</sup> and iron trunks (louha-mañjuṣā).<sup>1910</sup>

(3) *The food of the people*—The food consisted of various preparations of barley, wheat and rice and other food grains and cereals; flesh of animals like goat, sheep, deer, buffalo and ox, fruit, honey and various preparations of milk.

Barley, wheat and rice were often powdered or boiled and made into various kinds of bread or cakes along with milk and other ingredients. Of such the piṣṭa, purodāśa, apūpa and pakti were important. Rice was often boiled in milk to form kṣīraudana which was highly valued as food. Brāhmaudana was offered in the sacrifices.<sup>1911</sup> Other kinds of mess called

1893 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 17; White Yajurveda, XI. 59; Black Yajurveda, IV. 1. 5. 4.

1894 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

1895 Ibid.

1896 Ibid.

1897 Ibid., 114th sarga.

1898 Rigveda, I, 162. 13.

1899 Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 11. 26; XVI. 13. 13. Cf. Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 19.

1900 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 16.

1901 White Yajurveda, VII. 19; VIII. 12; XIX. 27; Black Yajurveda, III. 1. 6. 1.

1902 White Yajurveda, VIII. 33; XIX. 27; XIX. 33; Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 3. 1; VI. 3. 13.

1903 Atharvaveda, XII. 15.

1904 White Yajurveda, I. 14-15; XIII. 33.

1905 White Yajurveda, I. 17.

1906 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 17.

1907 Ibid.

1908 See ante, p. 136.

1909 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 36th and 37th sargas.

1910 Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 67th sarga.

1911 Atharvaveda, IV. 35. 7; XI. 1. 1; Black Yajurveda, III. 4. 8. 7.



dadhyaudana, ghr̥taudana, māmsaudana, mudgaudana, tilaudana and Udaudana were also known and used as food. Of fried grains we find mention of saktu, praivāpa and lāja.

The people seem to have been fond of meat-eating. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1912</sup> there is a passage which distinctly says that when the king or a respected person comes as a guest one should kill a bull or an old barren cow (vehat) for his entertainment. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1913</sup> the slaying of a great ox (mahokṣa) or a great goat (mahāja) for the entertainment of a distinguished guest has been enjoined. The great sage Yājñavalkya also expresses a similar view.<sup>1914</sup> He was "wont to eat the meat of milch cows and bullocks (dehnavaduha) if only it was firm or tender (amsala)."<sup>1915</sup> We have already seen<sup>1916</sup> that the flesh of the sacrificed bull and the buffaloes was taken besides the flesh of the goat<sup>1917</sup> and the sheep.<sup>1918</sup> The flesh of hunted animals like kṛṣṇasāra<sup>1919</sup> and varāha<sup>1920</sup> and of birds was also taken. The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1921</sup> besides referring to the use of dried meat as food, also gives us a graphic account of the dainty dishes prepared in Rāvaṇa's kitchen containing boar's flesh prepared with curds and salt, śālyapakva flesh of the deer, flesh of buffalo, cock, peacock, hare, and various kinds of kṛkala.<sup>1922</sup> Meat boiled with rice (māmsaudana) was also highly prized in those days.

Though we hear very little of fish-eating in the Rigveda, fish was in regular use as food in this period. This is evident not only from the frequent mention of fishermen but also from the large number of words denoting them that came into use e. g., Dāsa, Dhivara, Dhaivara, Kaivarta, Kevarta, Maināla, etc. That fish was caught and offered for sale as food is apparent from the existence of a separate class of men—the fish-vender mentioned in the White Yajurveda.<sup>1923</sup> The Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad<sup>1924</sup> employs the simile of a fisherman drawing out the denizens of the

<sup>1912</sup> I. 15.

<sup>1913</sup> III. 4. I. 2.

<sup>1914</sup> Vāj. I. 109.

<sup>1915</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 2, 2'.

<sup>1916</sup> See ante, pp. 110-13.

<sup>1917</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa 91st sarga.

<sup>1918</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1919</sup> Ibid., 56th sarga.

<sup>1920</sup> Ibid., 91st sarga.

<sup>1921</sup> Ibid., 84th sarga.

<sup>1922</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1923</sup> XXX. 16.

<sup>1924</sup> VI. 26.

waters with a net and offering them up (as a sacrifice) into the fire of his stomach to explain higher philosophical truths. The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1925</sup> refers to dishes of cooked fish in Rāvaṇa's kitchen. Fish was also offered to the guests and the manes.

We have already seen that the milk of the cow, the buffalo and the goat was used.<sup>1926</sup> The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1927</sup> describes the various articles of food prepared from cow's milk—butter (navanita), creamy butter (phāṇṭa) clarified butter (ghṛta) and curd (dadhi). Mixed milk (payasyā) is also mentioned. The drink consisted of milk and wines of different kinds already described. The Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1928</sup> also refers to another drink called āsava. It was prepared from honey, sugar, flowers and fruits flavoured with various powdered ingredients.<sup>1929</sup>

(4) *Domestic economy*—We have already seen that in the Rigvedic age many of the household duties were entrusted to the women of the house. The gr̥hapatnī was an 'alter ego' of the husband and the Atharvaveda<sup>1930</sup> tells us how she joined her husband in ceremonials and sacrifices and how she had often to take care of the Household Fire. In the marriage hymns she has been described as the queen of the household.<sup>1931</sup> Cooking was left to the wife as is proved by many passages of the Atharvaveda<sup>1932</sup> and the Black Yajurveda<sup>1933</sup> and the cooked food was distributed by the mother (mātā) as philological evidence shows. That the wife had to partake of the husband's burdens and household duties, seems to be indicated by some passages in the marriage hymn of the Atharvaveda. "Blest be the gold to thee, blest the water, blest the yoke's opening and blest the pillar."<sup>1934</sup> Here the yoke's opening stand sym-

<sup>1925</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1926</sup> See ante, pp. 110—13.

<sup>1927</sup> III. 3. 3.

<sup>1928</sup> Bālakāṇḍa 53rd sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa 11th sarga.

<sup>1929</sup> Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

<sup>1930</sup> XII. 3.

<sup>1931</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 43—44 :

"As vigorous Sindhu won himself  
imperial lordship of the streams

So be imperial queen when thou  
hast come in thy husband's home.

Over thy husband's father and  
his brothers be imperial queen.

Over thy husband's sister and his  
mother bear supreme control."

<sup>1932</sup> XII. 3. 4.

<sup>1933</sup> V. 1. 7. 1—2.

<sup>1934</sup> Atharvaveda, XIV. 1. 40.

bolical of agricultural operations, while the pillar in the middle of the threshing floor evidently refers to the wife's participation in the work of treading out corn. The tending of the cattle in her husband's house also formed part of her duties as would appear from a passage of the marriage hymn of the Atharvaveda in which Brhaspati is asked to make her gentle to the cattle.<sup>1935</sup> It seems to have been the custom in those days for the bride to weave the garment which the husband is to wear on the first day of his wedded life—das Brauthemde—the bride-shirt of the peasant of Saxony mentioned by Weber : "(May) the garment woven by the bride be soft and pleasant to our touch."<sup>1936</sup> The girls of the house continued to be the milk-maids of the family in this period as well :

"Quickly and willingly like kine forth come the singers and their hymns : Their little maidens are at home, at home they wait upon the cows."<sup>1937</sup>

To women of the house was entrusted the work of fetching water,<sup>1938</sup> preparing the Soma drink, churning curds and milk and preparing butter, creamy butter (phāṇṭa) and clarified butter (ghṛta) out of them. It is no wonder, therefore, that among the blessings which the king hopes the Horse-sacrifice will bring to him is the birth of industrious women in his kingdom..<sup>1939</sup>

It is thus evident that the average Vedic householder lived a life of self-sufficiency, depending mainly on his own exertions. He tended his own cattle and his own fields with the help of his kinsmen and the products of his farm and dairy supplied almost all the needs of his family. There was at first very little of luxury as well as of scarcity.

(5) *Development of capitalism and of a landed aristocracy*—But this state of affairs did not last long. Conquest brought in wealth and with the growth of towns luxury invaded society. Gambling and want of thrift reduced families to want and poverty and much of this wealth passed into other hands. The existence of little restrictions on transfers, whether of cattle or of real property together with the almost unfettered power

<sup>1935</sup> Ibid., 1. 62.

<sup>1936</sup> Ibid., 2. 51.

<sup>1937</sup> Ibid., XX. 127. 5.

<sup>1938</sup> White Yajurveda, XVI. 7.

<sup>1939</sup> Ibid., XXII. 22.



of the pater familias in the matter of disposal of property helped the growth of capitalism. Usury came to be the occupation of the rich, some of the merchants made huge profits and money came to be accumulated into the hands of the few. We have already seen<sup>1940</sup> that the Rigveda refers to the Maghavans who were famous for their wealth and liberality. An idea of the wealth of the princes of this period may be gathered from the account of gifts bestowed by them on brahmins, even though the accounts be a bit exaggerated and the figures conventional, as they come mostly from the recipients of these gifts. Thus besides ordinary gifts Janaka bestowed one thousand cows with twenty thousand pādas of gold to the best read brahmin.<sup>1941</sup> Again, we hear of the liberality of a worshipper who gave eighty-five thousand white horses, ten thousand elephants and eighty thousand slave girls adorned with ornaments to the brahmin who performed the sacrifice.<sup>1942</sup> We also find the gift of a village by Janaśruti to Raikka, when the latter agreed to teach him the Deity he worships.<sup>1943</sup> Kaurama, king of the Ruṣamas gave away twenty camels with females by their side, one hundred chains of gold, three hundred mettled steeds and ten thousand cows.<sup>1944</sup> We also notice, besides the Maghavans and the princes, the growth of a landed aristocracy<sup>1945</sup> due either to the acquisition of superior rights by men of merit over equals in the village or to the custom of granting villages to sacrificial priests and śrotriyas.

(6) *Princely palaces*—These princes and richer people lived in comparatively comfortable dwellings called harmya in the Rigveda.<sup>1946</sup> The harmya primarily denoting a unity including the stables etc,<sup>1947</sup> very soon added on the qualification of being protected by a wall of some sort.<sup>1948</sup> In the Rigveda we find a harmyeṣṭhaḥ prince standing probably

<sup>1940</sup> See ante, p. 78.

<sup>1941</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV. This story is repeated in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 1. 1 ff.

<sup>1942</sup> Weber—Indische Studien, X. p. 54. See also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 6. 3. 9; IV. 1. 11; IV. 3. 4. 6; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, III. 2. 5. 11—12.

<sup>1943</sup> Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, III. 2. 4.

<sup>1944</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 127. 2—3.

<sup>1945</sup> See ante, pp. 88—89.

<sup>1946</sup> I. 121. 1; I. 166. 4; IX. 71. 4; IX. 78. 3; X. 43. 3; X. 73. 10.

<sup>1947</sup> Rigveda, VII. 56. 16; cf. X. 106. 5.

<sup>1948</sup> Ibid., VII. 55. 6.

on the roof or rather the balcony of his palace<sup>1949</sup> just as any later Indian king would do to please his people. When the Atharvaveda thinks of a residence for Yama, it is a *harmya*.<sup>1950</sup> Some details regarding this *harmya* are to be found in the literature of this period dealing with *Rājasūya*.<sup>1951</sup> During this sacrifice the 'ratna-havis' rite was to be performed at the house of the king's *ratnins* including the Chief Queen and the Household officers so that *Ratnins*' houses must have been round about or adjacent to the king's *harmya*, being in the same royal and sacrificial area; and the separate houses of the sacrificing king's *mahiṣi*, *vāvātā* and *parivṛkti* indicate the existence of a complex palace of the harem type. The royal officer called *kṣattri*<sup>1952</sup> does the work of the distributor of the king's gifts in the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, that of the gate-keeper in the *Yajurveda* and early *Brāhmaṇas* and that of the harem superintendent (*antaḥ-purādhyakṣa*) in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The princes and nobles also employed *dāsi*'s for doing all sorts of domestic drudgery like husking and winnowing grain<sup>1953</sup> and collecting the alkaline droppings of the cow.<sup>1954</sup> They usually maintained a large number of attendants,<sup>1955</sup> cooks,<sup>1956</sup> servants,<sup>1957</sup> messengers,<sup>1958</sup> waiters,<sup>1959</sup> door-keepers<sup>1960</sup> and bath-attendants.<sup>1961</sup>

The description of Kaikeyi's Mahala with its separate *krodhāgāra*, *citragrāha* (picture-gallery) *latāgrāha* (grove) and many rooms furnished with altars and seats made of gold, silver and ivory; <sup>1962</sup> of Yuvarāja Rama's Mahala with its white gate decked with gems and pearls and crowned with a golden image, with images of tigers made of different metals here and there,

1949 Ibid, VII. 56. 16. (Geldner—Vedische Studien, 2, 278, n. 2; Alt. Leb. 149).

1950 Atharvaveda, XVIII. 4. 55.

1951 Black Yajurveda, I. 8. 9. 1 ff; Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā, II. 6. 5; IV. 38; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XV. 4; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 7. 31 ff; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 1. 1. ff.

1952 Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 201.

1953 Atharvaveda, XII. 3. 13.

1954 Ibid., XII. 4. 9.

1955 Atharvaveda, IX. 6. 50-51.

1956 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 80th sarga.

1957 White Yajurveda, XXX. 13.

1958 Ibid.

1959 Ibid., XXX. 9.

1960 Ibid., XXX. 13.

1961 Ibid., XXX. 12.

1962 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 10th sarga.



with its rooms adorned with the paintings of skilful artists;<sup>1963</sup> of Ravana's palace ornamented with plastered jewelled pavements, studded with gems, crystals and pearls, with elephants of burnished gold and speckless white silver, girt round by a mighty wall, furnished with golden doors with beautiful golden stairs embellished with ornaments of burnished gold, with lofty edifices having excellent windows made of ivory and silver, with golden nets, with its beautiful latagrha's (groves), citragrha (picture-gallery), krḍagrha (play-room), kāmagrha, divā-vihāra-grha and artificial mountains made of wood<sup>1964</sup> show the improvement of art and the luxury of the age. Well might Hanumāna exclaim at the sight of the bed-chamber of Ravana with its jewelled staircase illumined with heaps of gems, its terraces of crystal and statues of ivory, pearls, diamonds, corals, silver and gold, adorned with jewelled pillars, furnished with carpets, golden lamps,<sup>1965</sup> crystal altar, bed-stead with ivory legs decked with gold, artificial ladies with fly-flappers in their hands moving by mechanism<sup>1966</sup> that this must be svarga!

(7) *Growth of luxury*—The luxury of the age is equally evident as much from the use of the large number of gold and silver ornaments and jewellery already described as from the use of toilette of various kinds (snāna-dravya) kept in different pots,<sup>1967</sup> sandal powder (candanakalka),<sup>1968</sup> sandal paste,<sup>1969</sup> aguru paste,<sup>1970</sup> white paste,<sup>1971</sup> sticks to brush the teeth with<sup>1972</sup> and of hair-comb (kañkatikā).<sup>1973</sup> Manahsilā, a red-coloured mineral product found in the mountains (giriya-dhātu)<sup>1974</sup> was used by ladies to colour their cheek. In the Rāmāyaṇa Sitā asks Hanumāna to remind Rāma of the fact that one day he painted with his own hands the cheek of Sitā with tilakas of manahsilā.<sup>1975</sup> It was usual for the comparatively well-to-do people to burn aguru and sandal wood,<sup>1976</sup> resin

1963 Ibid, 15th sarga.

1964 Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 6th sarga.

1965 Ibid., 9th sarga.

1966 Ibid., 10th sarga.

1967 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

1968 Ibid.

1969 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 78th and 91st sargas; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

1970 Ibid, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

1971 Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.

1972 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

1973 Ibid.

1974 Ibid., Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga; Sundarakāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

1975 Ibid, Sundarakāṇḍa, 40th sarga.

1976 Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 14th, 76th and 88th sargas.



(śāla-niryyās)<sup>1977</sup> and various other kinds of incense (gandhadravya).<sup>1978</sup> Not only do we find mention of the gandhajīvi<sup>1979</sup> but also of perfumes<sup>1980</sup> and ointments<sup>1981</sup> made by them. In the White Yajurveda the ointment-maker (who is usually a female) is mentioned<sup>1982</sup> and we are told that in the Soma sacrifice the Adhvaryu priest anoints the eyes of the sacrificer with collyrium.<sup>1983</sup> Collyrium-pots are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>1984</sup> and the anointing instrument in the Black Yajurveda.<sup>1985</sup> The anointing instrument was called īśika, as opposed to śalālī which is used by men according to the Kāthaka Saṃhitā<sup>1986</sup> and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.<sup>1987</sup> According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1988</sup> the anointing instrument was a reed stalk (sareṣikā) with a tuft. In the Black Yajurveda<sup>1989</sup> the mythological origin of collyrium is thus told: "Indra slew Vṛtra; his eye-ball fell away; it became collyrium." We also hear of musk (kasturī),<sup>1990</sup> lac (lākṣā),<sup>1991</sup> of saffron (kumkum)<sup>1992</sup> for colouring food<sup>1993</sup> and of flavouring ingredients for food.<sup>1994</sup> The use of umbrella,<sup>1995</sup> chāmara (fly flap-per),<sup>1996</sup> wooden sandals<sup>1997</sup> and leather-shoes<sup>1998</sup> was also known in this age.

- |      |  |                                     |  |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1977 | Ibid., 76th sarga.   | Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 75th sarga; |  |
| 1978 | Ibid.; Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa 10th sarga.   | Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 23rd sarga.        |  |
| 1979 | Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 83rd sarga.   | 1992                                | Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 26th sarga.  |
| 1980 | Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, VIII. 2. 6; VIII. 8. 5; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, I. 4.   | 1993                                | Ibid, Sundarakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.  |
| 1981 | Black Yajurveda, VI. 1. 1. 5—6; Kāthaka Saṃhitā, XXIII. 1; Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā, XXXV. 7; Maitrāyaṇī, Saṃhitā, III. 6. 1—3; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. 1. 3. 13. | 1994                                | Ibid.  |
| 1982 | White Yajurveda, XXX. 14.  | 1995                                | Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 14th, 45th and 91st sargas; Aranya-kāṇḍa, 35th and 51st sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa 10th and 26th sargas; Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga; Laṅkā-kāṇḍa, 11th and 129th sargas. |
| 1983 | Ibid., IV. 3.  | 1996                                | Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 14th, 15th, 16th and 91st sargas; Aranyakāṇḍa, 35th and 51st sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 10th and 26th sargas; Laṅkā-kāṇḍa, 11th and 129th sargas.                     |
| 1984 | Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st Sarga.  | 1997                                | Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 91st, 112th and 113th sargas; Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 26th sarga.  |
| 1985 | VI. 1. 1. 6.   | 1998                                | See ante, p 140.   |
| 1986 | XXIII. 1.  |                                     |  |
| 1987 | III. 6. 1—3.   |                                     |  |
| 1988 | III. 1. 3. 13.   |                                     |  |
| 1989 | VI. 1. 1. 5.   |                                     |  |
| 1990 | Rāmāyaṇa, Laṅkā-kāṇḍa, 75th Sarga.   |                                     |  |
| 1991 | Atharvaveda, V. 5. 7; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, II. 3. 6;  |                                     |  |

(8) *Existence of social inequalities*—Side by side with richer people enjoying these luxuries we find also peoples in debt. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 11 we read : “To overcome the foe thou movest like one taking payment for debt ; hail !” Debts were contracted for various purposes, gambling being one of them.<sup>1999</sup> The amount of interest payable is impossible to make out. There is a passage in the Atharvaveda<sup>2000</sup> where an eighth and sixteenth are mentioned as paid ; but, it is quite uncertain whether interest or an instalment of the principal is meant. The Atharvaveda contains prayers to Agni for absolution from sin arising out of non-payment of debt<sup>2001</sup> and for release from debts incurred without intention of payment.<sup>2002</sup> In another hymn of the Atharvaveda<sup>2003</sup> the reciter prays to the two Apsaras (Ugrajit and Ugrampasyā) for forgiveness for incurring debt in dice-play. Such prayers are really significant in as much as they show not only an advanced state of society with frequent occurrence of debt but also a corrupt state of affairs where people contracted debt with the intention of non-payment, though at the same time non-payment of debt was regarded as a sin which brought evil consequences in the next world.

**The state in relation to economic life**—Before we conclude this chapter something may be said about the part the head of the state was expected to play in moulding the economic life of the people. The Coronation ritual proves beyond doubt that not only was it the duty of the ruler to protect the life and property of his subjects but also to promote their material welfare. Thus the priest during the Coronation ceremony addresses the ruler as follows :

“This is thy Sovereignty. Thou art the ruler, thou art controller, thou art firm and steadfast.

<sup>1999</sup> Black Yajurveda, V. 4. 4. 4 ; V. 6. 6. 1 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 3. 19 ; Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, III. 3 ; Pañchaviṃśa, Brāhmaṇa, XVII. 14, 16 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya-kāṇḍa, 91st sarga.

<sup>2000</sup> VI. 47. 32 = Rīgveda, VIII. 47. 17.

<sup>2001</sup> Atharvaveda, VI. 117.

<sup>2002</sup> Ibid., VI. 119.

<sup>2003</sup> Ibid., VI. 118. According to Mahārṣi Śaunaka the Rīg mantras beginning

with kakāra and ending with hakāra if uttered thirty thousand times would bring freedom from debt. Rīg VIII. 30. 4 if uttered eight or twenty-eight times a day for six months would bring freedom from debt. The mantra (1st Aṣṭaka, 2nd Adhyāya, 13th Varga) beginning with “Kasya nūnam” if uttered with priyangu and honey will bring freedom from debt.

Thee for land culture, thee for peace and quiet, thee for wealth, thee for increase of our substance.<sup>2004</sup>

In the Rāmāyaṇa we similarly find Rāma asking Bharata whether the people are living happily in his kingdom ; whether the agriculturist and the cowherd find favour in his sight ; whether every day in the morning he watches from the balcony of his palace the prosperity of his subjects passing through the high roads ; whether royal forests and cattle are well-protected ; whether the forts are always filled with wealth, grains, weapons, water-appliances (jala-yantra), artisans and skilled archers ; whether his income is always greater than the expenditure ; whether the physicians and other notables are always kept in good humour by sweet words, gifts and honours.<sup>2005</sup> It is thus evident that the economic side of national life was to receive its fullest attention from the head of the state. The ideal of happiness which the king prays to the gods for his country to attain will be evident from the following hymn in connection with the Horse-sacrifice :

“O Brahman, let there be born in the kingdom the Brahmin illustrious for religious knowledge ; let there be born the Rājanya, a skilled archer, piercing with shafts, a mighty warrior ; the cow giving abundant milk ; the ox good at carrying ; the swift courser ; the industrious woman. May Parjanya send rain according to our desire ; may our fruit-bearing plants ripen ; may acquisition and preservation of property be secured to us.”<sup>2006</sup>

We have evidence in the panygerics of rulers how the theoretical concept of royal duty was translated into practice. In the eulogy which a subject of Parīkṣit bestows, he makes particular mention of the fact that agriculture and cattle-rearing were in a prosperous condition, that the subjects of Parīkṣit not only thrived well but also lived in unbroken peace and happiness under his rule.<sup>2007</sup>

<sup>2004</sup> White Yajurveda, IX. 22.

<sup>2005</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

<sup>2006</sup> White Yajurveda, XXII. 22.

<sup>2007</sup> Atharvaveda, XX. 127.



## CHAPTER VI.

### The Age of Gautama Buddha.

(600 B.C.—321 B.C.)

The chief sources of our knowledge of the economic conditions prevailing in this period are the Jātakas or the Birth-stories of Buddha and to a more limited extent the Vinaya and the Suttapiṭakas. It is true that the Jātakas are mere stories ; but it is fairly clear that the folk in those tales have given them a parochial setting and local colour. And this evidence from the Jātakas is frequently borne out by the coincident testimony of other books not dealing with folk-lore. Of such books which furnish corroborative evidence, the Sūtras (specially the Gṛhyasūtras, Śrautasūtras and the Sūtras of Pāṇini) and the works of Greek writers like Herodotus are important. Whatever may be the age of their representative works in their present form, the Sūtras undoubtedly had their roots in a period at least as early as the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. The purpose of the Sūtras, so called from the sūtra which means a thread, is to afford a clue through the mazes of Brahminical learning contained in the Brāhmaṇas and the earliest of them represent a phase which is transitional between the language of the Brāhmaṇas and Classical Sanskrit as fixed by the grammarians.

**Towns**—This period is marked by a remarkable growth of towns<sup>2008</sup> and the development of town-life which is so closely associated with the growth of industry and commerce. According to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta<sup>2009</sup> there were some “great cities (mahānagara) such as Champā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmyi and Benares” as against “this little wattel and daub

<sup>2008</sup> Aristobulus when he was sent on a commission by Alexander to a region left desert by a shifting of the Indus to the east, saw the remains of over a thousand towns

and villages, once full of men (Aristobulus, Frag. 39 = Strabo XV. C. 693).

<sup>2009</sup> V. 4. = S. B. E., Vol. XI. p. 99.

town" of Kuśinagara." We get the following list of towns from the literature of this period :—(1) Ālavī<sup>2010</sup> (= Sanskrit Āṭavi). It was situated near the bank of the Ganges on the way from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha and thirty-five yojanas away from Śrāvastī; (2) Andhapura on the bank of Telavāhanada;<sup>2011</sup> (3) Anupiya in Malladeśa;<sup>2012</sup> (4) Ariṣṭapura in the Sivi country.<sup>2013</sup> It had four gates;<sup>2014</sup> (5) Asitāñjana;<sup>2015</sup> (6) Assapura, a nigama in Anga;<sup>2016</sup> (7) Ayojjhā=(Sans. Ayodhyā);<sup>2017</sup> (8) Attaka in Anga;<sup>2018</sup> (9) Vārāṇasī (= Benares).<sup>2019</sup> It was surrounded by a wall,<sup>2020</sup> pierced by gates<sup>2021</sup> with watch-towers over them.<sup>2022</sup> It was served by a good system of drains<sup>2023</sup> through one of which a prince fled from the hands of the invaders.<sup>1024</sup> It was famous for her scents<sup>2025</sup> and textile fabrics;<sup>2026</sup> (10) Bhadravātikā;<sup>2027</sup> (11) Bhṛgukachchha;<sup>2028</sup> (12) Brahmot-tara;<sup>2029</sup> (13) Champā, ancient capital of Anga.<sup>2030</sup> It was surrounded by a wall, pierced by gates with watch-towers over them;<sup>2031</sup> (14) Danta-

- <sup>2010</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by A. F. R. Hoernle) p. 52; Tri-paryasta Jātaka (No. 16); Maṇi-kanṭha (No. 253).  
<sup>2011</sup> Serivāṇij Jātaka (No. 3).  
<sup>2012</sup> Sukhavihāri Jātaka (No. 10).  
<sup>2013</sup> Sivi Jātaka (No. 499);  
<sup>2014</sup> Unmādayanti Jātaka (No. 527); Sivi Jātaka (No. 499).  
<sup>2015</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).  
<sup>2016</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.  
<sup>2017</sup> Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82.  
<sup>2018</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.  
<sup>2019</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86; Vimānavatthu Com-mentary, p. 82; Apānpaka Jātaka (No. 1); Vāṇupatha (No. 2); Tāṇḍulanālī (No. 5); Devadharma (No. 6); Tailapātra (No. 96) etc.  
<sup>2020</sup> Gṛdhra Jātaka (No. 164); Saṃgrā-māvacara Jātaka (No. 182).  
<sup>2021</sup> Khadirāṅgara Jātaka (No. 40);

- Mahāśilavaja (No. 51); Chulla-padma (No. 193); Bhīmasena (No. 80); also Nos. 156 and 34).  
<sup>2022</sup> Saṃgrāmāvacara Jātaka (No. 182).  
<sup>2023</sup> Śṛgāla Jātaka (Nos. 113 and 142).  
<sup>2024</sup> Aśātarūpaka Jātaka (No. 100).  
<sup>2025</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).  
<sup>2026</sup> Bhīmsena (No. 80); Kāma-vilāpa (No. 297); Mahāśvāroha (No. 302). Madīyaka (No. 390); Viśa (No. 438); Mahāvāpij (No. 493); Śoṇananda (No. 532); Mahāhaṃsa (No. 534); Khaṇḍa-hāla (No. 542); Mahāunmārga (No. 546); Viśwantara (No. 547);  
<sup>2027</sup> Surāpāna Jātaka (No. 81).  
<sup>2028</sup> Suśroṇi Jātaka (No. 360); Supāraga Jātaka (No. 463).  
<sup>2029</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvadāna).  
<sup>2030</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86;  
<sup>2031</sup> Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539).

pura on the coast of Kalinga ;<sup>2032</sup> (15) Deśaka in Śumbha kingdom ; (16) Gambhirāpattana, a port ;<sup>2033</sup> (17) Halidda-vaṃsa, a nigama in the Koliya country ;<sup>2034</sup> (18) Indapattha ;<sup>2035</sup> (19) Jetuttara in the Śivi country.<sup>2036</sup> It was surrounded by a wall pierced by gates ;<sup>2037</sup> (20) Kāmpilya, the capital of N. Pāñchāla ;<sup>2038</sup> (21) Kośāmvī (Kauśāmvī),<sup>2039</sup> the capital of Vatsarāja Udayana. According to Cunningham it is modern Kośam on the bank of the Jumna, thirty miles N. W. of Allahabad. It was an important halting place both for goods and passengers coming to Magadha ; (22) Kapilavastu<sup>2040</sup> on the bank of the river Rohiṇī 100 miles north of Benares, birth-place of Gautama Buddha ; (23) Kitagiri<sup>2041</sup> a nigama in the Kāśī kingdom ; (24) Kusinārā<sup>2042</sup> (= Kuśanagara). It is modern Kāśī, 35 miles East of Gorakhpur. It was surrounded by a wall ;<sup>2043</sup> (25) Kāveripattana in the Drāviḍa country ;<sup>2044</sup> (26) Kajangala. It was the name of a city according to the commentator of Viśa Jātaka where there was a vihāra at the time of Kāśyapa Buddha ; (27) Kuṇḍiya ;<sup>2045</sup> Koli on the bank of the river Rohiṇī, just opposite to Kapilavastu. Devadatta and Yaśodhārā belonged to the ruling family of this city ; (29) Madhurā (Mathurā), capital<sup>2046</sup> of the Surasenas ; (30) Mahissati ;<sup>2047</sup>

<sup>2032</sup> Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86 ; Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276) ; Khullakalinga (No. 301) ; Kumbhakāra (No. 408) ; Kalingavodhi (No. 479).

<sup>2033</sup> Lośaka Jātaka (No. 41).

<sup>2034</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.

<sup>2035</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52 ; Kurudharma (No. 276) ; Mahāsutasoma (No. 537).

<sup>2036</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2037</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2038</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X. Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82. Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408).

<sup>2039</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52 ; Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82. Its drainage system is referred to in Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana Jātaka (No. 444).

Compare the epithet Kauśāmvīya in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII. 2. 13 and in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 24. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, (I. 32. 6) and Kāśikā commentary on (Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 2, 68) : tena nirvritam, Kauśāmvī was founded by prince Kuśāmvī.

<sup>2040</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle) p. 52.

<sup>2041</sup> Majjhima Nikāya.

<sup>2042</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52 ; Mahāsudarśana Jātaka (No. 95).

<sup>2043</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2044</sup> Akīrti Jātaka (No. 480).

<sup>2045</sup> Aśātarūpaka Jātaka (No. 100).

<sup>2046</sup> Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82.

<sup>2047</sup> Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86.



(31) Mithilā;<sup>2048</sup> (32) Nandana;<sup>2049</sup> (33) Polasapura;<sup>2050</sup> (34) Potana;<sup>2051</sup> (35) Patiṭṭhāna (= Paithan); (36) Pātaliputtaka;<sup>2052</sup> (37) Potali in the Kāśī kingdom;<sup>2053</sup> (38) Potali in Aśvaka kingdom.<sup>2054</sup> Its gates are also referred to;<sup>2055</sup> (39) Roruka,<sup>2056</sup> capital of Sovira. It was an important centre of coasting trade; (40) Ramanaka;<sup>2057</sup> (41) Rājagaha (= Rājagīha=<sup>2058</sup> Rājagṛha; (42) Sāgala;<sup>2059</sup> (43) Śrāvastī,<sup>2060</sup> capital of Uttara Kośala. It is modern Śeṭh Mahetha in the Gonda district of U. P., ten miles north of Valarāmapura, on the bank of the river Aciravati (modern Rāpti). It gates are also referred to;<sup>2061</sup> (44) Sāṃkāśyā (= Pāli Samkissa).<sup>2062</sup> It is modern Sāṃkiśa on the Kālī river in the Farakkabad district; (45) Surundhana in the Kāśī kingdom;<sup>2063</sup> (46) Sadāmatṭa;<sup>2064</sup> (47) Śākala<sup>2065</sup> in the land of the Madra's (= modern Sialkot); (48) Śāketa<sup>2066</sup> (otherwise known as Ayodhyā or Viśīkhā) on the bank of the river Saraju in the Faizabad district; (49) Salātura;<sup>2067</sup> (50) Śarkarā, a nigama near Rājagṛha;<sup>2068</sup> (51) Setavya;<sup>2069</sup> (52) Sagula;<sup>2070</sup> (53) Sum-

- <sup>2048</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82; Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86; Makhādeva Jātaka (No. 9); Gāndhāra (No. 406); Kumbhakāra (No. 408); Mahājanaka (No. 538).  
<sup>2049</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvādāna)  
<sup>2050</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X.  
<sup>2051</sup> Assakānāñca Potanam—Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86.  
<sup>2052</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52.  
<sup>2053</sup> Aśvaka Jātaka (No. 207).  
<sup>2054</sup> Khullakalinga Jātaka (No. 301).  
<sup>2055</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2056</sup> Dīgha Nikāya, XIX. 86; Ādīpta Jātaka (No. 424).  
<sup>2057</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvādāna).  
<sup>2058</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X; Jātaka Nos. 4, 11, 14, 37 etc. It was once the capital of Magadha.

- <sup>2059</sup> Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82.  
<sup>2060</sup> Jātaka Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 27, 37, 41, 44, 54, 75, 103 etc.  
<sup>2061</sup> Avikṣṇa Jātaka (No. 27).  
<sup>2062</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Jātaka Nos. 29, 134, 135 etc.  
<sup>2063</sup> Udaya Jātaka (No. 456).  
<sup>2064</sup> Divyāvadāna (Maitrakanyakāvādāna).  
<sup>2065</sup> Kalingavodhi Jātaka (No. 479); Kuśa (No. 531).  
<sup>2066</sup> Buddhist Suttas—Rhys Davids, p. 99; Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52; Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82; Śāketa Jātaka (Nos. 68 and 237).  
<sup>2067</sup> Pāṇinī.  
<sup>2068</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).  
<sup>2069</sup> Uvāsagadasao, Lecture X.  
<sup>2070</sup> Uvāsagadasao (Eng. Trans. by Hoernle), p. 52.

sumāra<sup>2071</sup>; (54) Suppāraka; <sup>2072</sup> (55) Svātivati in Chedi kingdom; <sup>2073</sup> (56) Takkhasīlā (Taxila).<sup>2074</sup> Its gates are referred to; <sup>2075</sup> (57) Ujjain in Avanti; <sup>2076</sup> (58) Ukkatṭha; <sup>2077</sup> (59) Uttara Mathurā; <sup>2078</sup> (60) Vaiśālī<sup>2079</sup> (= Pāli Vesālī). According to Cunningham it is modern Beśāra, 20 miles north of Hājipur. It was surrounded by three walls each at a distance of one gabyūti (=two miles) pierced by three gates with watch-towers over them.<sup>2080</sup> With its suburbs of Kulluga and Kundagāma Vaiśālī was called Vaniyagāma according to Jaina tradition.<sup>2081</sup>

(a) *Origin of towns*:—Some of these were in their beginnings mere villages and gradually developed into towns. In the Jayaddviṣa Jātaka<sup>2082</sup> we are told that a certain king made settlement on a certain mountain, brought virgin soil under cultivation by clearing off the jungles and bringing a thousand families with much treasure founded a big village. This village, we are told, grew into a town (Khullakalmāsa by name). The town of Kammasadamma also grew out of a village<sup>2083</sup> The growth of villages into towns is further shown by the fact that some terms while generally meaning towns also mean villages e. g., khetā, pattana, kārvaṭa etc.<sup>2084</sup> In fact, one of the most potent factors which influenced the amalgamation of several villages into a city or a capital was the political condition of ancient India. Mr. Havell<sup>2085</sup> well remarks "A natural consequence of the consolidation of Aryan tribal system into these larger states and kingdoms was the gradual development of the village settlements into larger towns and cities planned on the same prin-

<sup>2071</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2072</sup> Buddhist India—Rhys Davids, p. 31.

<sup>2073</sup> Chedi Jātaka (No. 422).

<sup>2074</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle's trans. p. 52; Pāpinī; Jātaka Nos. 61, 71, 96, 408.

<sup>2075</sup> Palāyi Jātaka (No. 229).

<sup>2076</sup> Chitrasambhūta Jātaka (No. 498).

<sup>2077</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle's trans. p. 52; Rhys Davids—Dialogues of the Buddha.

<sup>2078</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

<sup>2079</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle's trans. p. 52; Vimānavattu Commentary, p. 82; Tittira (No. 37); Ekaparṇa No. 149).

<sup>2080</sup> Ekaparṇa Jātaka (No. 149).

<sup>2081</sup> Uvāsagadasao—Hoernle, p. 4.

<sup>2082</sup> No. 513.

<sup>2083</sup> Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (No. 537).

<sup>2084</sup> History of Aryan Rule in India, p. 38.

<sup>2085</sup> Vaijayantī by Yādavaprakāśa, p. 159, LL. 1-3 p. 232, L. 2; Mayamatam, Ch. IX.

ciples in which wards or village units, were grouped round the royal palace and the citadel.”

Some of the towns were fortresses in the midst of a collection of villages and these fortresses grew into towns. According to the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta<sup>2086</sup> Ajātaśatru of Magadha built a fortress at Pāṭali-grāma to check the advance of the Vajjis. This village and the fortress grew up into the town of Pāṭaliputra in the course of two generations.<sup>2087</sup> The hill-fortress of Girivraja four miles and a half in circumference which was said to have been built by Mahāgovinda, the architect also grew into a town.

The necessity of a trading post led to the growth of many commercial towns in India also as in other countries. A centre of trade is very likely to be posted on or near by the well-known trade-routes of the Ancient World and Taxila is a case in point. “The valley in which the remains of Taxila lie is a singularly pleasant one, well-watered by the Haro river and its tributaries, and protected by a girdle of hills;—on the north and east by the snow-mountains of Hazra and the Murree ridge, on the south and west by the well-known Margalla spur and other lower eminences. This position on the great trade-routes which used to connect Hindusthan with Central and Western Asia, coupled with the strength of its natural defences, fertility of the soil, and a constant supply of good water readily accounts for the importance of the city in early times.”<sup>2088</sup>

(b) *Town-planning* :—Though we have no detailed description of the town-plan in early literature the fragmentary evidences concur in describing an Indian city as surrounded by walls pierced by lofty gates and defended by a moat or even three moats; and as divided into different wards or quarters which were allotted to men of different castes and trades excepting the Chāṇḍālas who lived outside the city. In the Pāṇḍara Jātaka<sup>2089</sup> we are told that one should

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keep a secret carefully guarded in his mind just as a city is strongly guarded by being girt round by deep moats. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka<sup>2090</sup> we are told that expert sthapati's have built the walls, wards and places of the city of Mithilā after proper calculation and measurement, have beautified it with gates (torāṇa), watch-towers (aṭṭalakas) and well laid out (suvinyasta) roads and kūṭāgāra's made according to proper measurements (yathāmāna). From the Mahāunmārga Jātaka<sup>2091</sup> we learn that the king dug three moats round Mithilā—a water-moat, a mud-moat and a dry moat. The city of Kuśavati was surrounded by seven ramparts (vapra) with four gates.<sup>2092</sup> The story of how king Pasenadi of Kośāla was kept out of his capital by the stratagem of Digha Kārāyaṇa<sup>2093</sup> and how this made him lose his kingdom also proves the existence of completely walled up cities and of the stringent rules for closing the city-gates.<sup>2094</sup> From the Uvasagadasao we find that the kṣatriya quarter of Vesālī was different from that of the brahmins. From that Jātakas we learn of the ivory-workers' bazaar (danta-vīthi),<sup>2095</sup> weavers' place (palli)<sup>2096</sup> and vaiśya quarter (vīthi)<sup>2097</sup> in Benares, florists' quarter (utpalavīthi)<sup>2098</sup> and cooks' quarter<sup>2099</sup> in Śrāvastī. The evil consequence upon the corporate life of the city of segregating people into detached wards where they could be liable to develop different habits and customs was provided against by the composite wards or simple residential blocks, by the establishment of temples in the centre with magnificent debating halls and rest-houses where all sorts of people congregated together irrespective of their caste. Moreover, caste-distinction prevented one thing ; it did not make poverty a crime and did not divide the city into two parts like the East End and the West End of London.

(c) *Corporate life in the towns* :—As a matter of fact, we find a sturdy spirit of corporate life in these cities. In the Kaṇḍikapūpa Jātaka<sup>2100</sup> we find that by raising subscriptions (chhandaka), the

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(—S. B. E., Vol. XI. pp. 449—51.

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citizens of Śrāvastī used to supply food on certain occasions to the monks of the Buddhist saṃgha in the city. Another example of such a corporate gift (gaṇa-dāna) by the citizens of Śrāvastī is given in the Susīma Jātaka<sup>2101</sup> where the question as to whether the gift is to be made to the Tīrthikas or the Buddhists was decided by majority vote (saṃvāhula). Such corporate gifts were also made by the citizens of Benares<sup>2102</sup> and Rājagṛha.<sup>2103</sup>

**Rural Economy**—Despite this remarkable growth of towns and the development of town-life the economy of India in this period, as in other periods, was mainly rural, based on a system of village-communities. Like the Jātakas the Dharmasūtras also depict the life of the country as mainly rural. Cities are not ignored but despised. Āpastamva<sup>2104</sup> says "Let him avoid going into towns." Baudhāyana<sup>2105</sup> goes further and says "It is impossible for one to obtain salvation who lives in a town covered with dust." Moreover, the Sūtras do not prescribe any ceremony for urban life though there are many for agricultural life in the villages. The constant injunctions to sacrifice at a place where the four roads meet or near a hill etc., therefore, imply life in the villages rather than life in the towns.<sup>2106</sup>

(a) *Origin and classification of villages* : From the evidences at our disposal we are able to distinguish three main types of villages in this period : (1) the ordinary agricultural village or mixed type (2) the special and suburban village or industrial type and (3) the border village or frontier type. The first type consisted of those villages which were occupied by men of all castes and occupations and some of which were destined, in course of time, to grow into towns. The special and suburban type was occupied solely by particular communities, and some of them specialised in a particular branch of industry. We thus read of villages inhabited solely by hunters,<sup>2107</sup> Chāṇḍāla villages,<sup>2108</sup>

<sup>2101</sup> No. 163.

<sup>2102</sup> Durdada Jātaka (No. 180).

<sup>2103</sup> Kāśāya Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2104</sup> I. 32. 21.

<sup>2105</sup> II. 3. 6, 33.

<sup>2106</sup> Govila Gṛhyasūtras, III. 5. 32—35.

<sup>2107</sup> Mayura (No. 159) ; Rohantamīga (No. 501) ; Khullahamṣa (No. 533).

<sup>2108</sup> Chittasambhūta (No. 498) ; Āmra (No. 474) ; Mātanga (No. 497).

Brahmin villages,<sup>2109</sup> a village of 500 robbers,<sup>2110</sup> a village of carpenters<sup>2111</sup> and a village of 100 families of smiths.<sup>2112</sup> The rise of these industrial villages in the suburban areas was partly due to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people of the lower castes who were thus not allowed to live within the walls of the city. We find a Chāṇḍāla village lying just outside the city of Ujjain.<sup>2113</sup> Chāṇḍāla villages outside the city are also referred to in Āmra<sup>2114</sup> and Mātanga<sup>2115</sup> Jātakas. A niṣāda village outside Benares is referred to in Rohantamrga<sup>2116</sup> and Śyāma<sup>2117</sup> Jātakas. A niṣāda village near Śakula is mentioned in Khullahaṃsa Jātaka.<sup>2118</sup> The village containing 500 families of carpenters mentioned in the Alina-chitta Jātaka<sup>2119</sup> was situated near Benares. According to the Uvāsagadasao<sup>2120</sup> there were 500 potter-shops outside the town of Polāsapura. Apparently these formed a suburban village of potters. Indeed the very nature of these industrial villages made it essential that they should be near a town which alone can afford to give their inhabitants a good market for their labour or for the products of their labour. The third or border type of villages are frequently<sup>2121</sup> referred to in the Jātakas. Thus the Śakuna and Kharamvara<sup>2122</sup> Jātakas refer to border villages in Kośala while the Maśaka<sup>2123</sup> and the Mahāśvāroha<sup>2124</sup> Jātakas refer to border villages in Kāśī. The Mahāvamśa also refers to such frontier villages founded by king Simhavāhu of the Vanga country over which he placed a son of the princess's uncle, commander in the army of the Vanga king.<sup>2125</sup>

- 2109 Suvarṇakakkata Jātaka (No. 389);  
Kurudharma (No. 276).  
2110 Śaktigulma Jātaka (No. 503).  
2111 Alinachitta Jātaka (No. 156);  
Phandana (No. 475).  
2112 Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).  
2113 Chittasambhūta (No. 498).  
2114 No. 474.  
2115 No. 497.  
2116 No. 501.  
2117 No. 540.  
2118 No. 533.

- 2119 No. 156.  
2120 VII. 181, 184.  
2121 No. 36.  
2122 No. 79.  
2123 No. 44.  
2124 No. 302.  
2125 "Nivāsetvāna sākham te pachchanta-  
gāmaṃ āgamum. Tathāsi rāja-dhi-  
tāya mātulassa suto tadā. Senā-  
pati Vangarañño thito pachchanta-  
sādhane nisinnō vaṭamule so kam-  
mantam saṃvidhāpayam—Maha-  
vamśa, Ch. VI. 15-16.

It seems that villages were sometimes founded for military purposes. In the Mahāunmīrga Jātaka<sup>2126</sup> we find that the king, previous to his starting on a military expedition gave orders to his minister to build villages on the line of march. The minister, after accomplishing his task and completing the arrangements informed the king: "Great king, wait not a moment on the road, but advance immediately. I have already built villages for you at intervals of seven yojanas, establishing halting places, and filled the hundreds of villages that are on the way with cloths and ornaments, food and drink. I have kept elephants, horses and vehicles ready for you in those villages." These villages, were evidently utilised, subsequently to expedition, as resting places for caravans.

(b) *Corporate village-life*—Over each village was the gāma-bhojaka who was paid according to the Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>2127</sup> a tax on wine levied on each tub of wine (hence called chāti-kahāpaṇa) and fines. According to Professor Rhys Davids<sup>2128</sup> from the fact that the appointment of this officer is not claimed by the king until the later law-books it is almost certain that in earlier times the appointment was either hereditary or was conferred by the village council itself. The villages of the industrial type appears to have had an Alderman (Jeṭṭaka) as the head. Thus, for instance, the Sūchī Jātaka<sup>2129</sup> tells us that there was a Jeṭṭaka at the head of the village of 1000 blacksmiths. The headman appears also to have been sometimes appointed by the king as the Kharamvara Jātaka<sup>2130</sup> shows. Though we hear of the misconduct of some of the headmen as in the Kharamvara<sup>2130</sup> and Grhapati Jātakas<sup>2131</sup> the villagers were not altogether powerless. From the Pāṇiya Jātaka<sup>2132</sup> we find that the headman who prohibited the slaughter of animals and the sale of wine in the village had ultimately to rescind his orders on account of the protest of the villagers. Even when the headman was a nominee of the king the villagers

<sup>2126</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2127</sup> No. 31.

<sup>2128</sup> Buddhist India, p. 48.

<sup>2129</sup> No. 387.

<sup>2130</sup> No. 79.

<sup>2131</sup> No. 199.

<sup>2132</sup> No. 459.



had a voice in the management of their affairs.<sup>2133</sup> In fact they met to confer with the *gāmabhojaka* and carried the upshot of their counsels into effect. The *Mahāśvāroha Jātaka*<sup>2134</sup> tells us that the thirty villagers of a border village met together to transact the business of the place. The *Kulāyaka Jātaka*<sup>2135</sup> tells us that the members of the thirty-five families of a village met in the middle of the village to transact the affairs of the village.<sup>2136</sup> We are further told that they went about the village with axes and clubs. With the clubs, they would roll out of the way stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village. The trees that would strike against the axle of chariots, they cut down; rough places they smoothed down; cause-ways they built; dug water tanks and built a hall but they wanted to put a pinnacle on it. They found it in the possession of a lady from whom they could not buy for want of money. But the lady gave it to them when they agreed to make her a partner in their work. The *Loṣaka*<sup>2137</sup> and *Takka*<sup>2138</sup> *Jātakas* give us the story of the establishment of a village-school and the construction of a hut for the teacher at the instance of the villagers. In the *Grahapati Jātaka*<sup>2139</sup> we are told that the villagers contracted a loan (of an old ox) from the *gāmabhojaka*. In the *Mahāunmārga Jātaka*<sup>2140</sup> a *kr̥dāsālā*, a *pānthaśālā* and a *vicārasālā* were constructed by raising public subscriptions from the villagers.<sup>2141</sup> Such co-operative undertakings by villagers are confirmed by the later evidence of Kautilya's *Arthśāstra*.

<sup>2133</sup> Being thus placed between two masters the headman's lot was not an enviable one as is apparent from the *Viśa Jātaka* (No. 488) where among the misfortunes or rather curses that might befall a man is mentioned village headmanship.

<sup>2134</sup> No. 302 :—"Te pāto va gāmamajjhe sannipatitvā gāmakiccham karonti."

<sup>2135</sup> No. 31 : "gāmamajjhe thatvā gāmakammaṃ karonti."

<sup>2136</sup> In case of division of opinion the decision of the majority prevailed [Sunil

(No. 163) and *Kāṣāya* (No. 221) *Jātakas*].

<sup>2137</sup> No. 41.

<sup>2138</sup> No. 63.

<sup>2139</sup> No. 199.

<sup>2140</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2141</sup> On occasions of royal hunt the villagers were sometimes put to forced labour and therefore the villagers would in a body sometimes beat the forest and collect the game in an enclosed place where the king could hunt [*Nyagrodha-mīga* (No. 12) and *Nandika-mīga* (No. 385) *Jātakas*].

The corporate character of villages is equally evident as much from the fact that the village elders administered justice in petty cases as from the fact that fines were sometimes imposed on the village as a corporate whole.<sup>2142</sup>

**Land System**—The village arrangements remained practically the same as at the end of the previous period. In the centre was the inhabited portion containing the homestead of the villagers. Around this inhabited portion was the arable ground (khetta) the limits of which might be extended by fresh clearing of forest land.<sup>2143</sup> The majority of the holdings were were probably small, though estates of 1000 kariṣas<sup>2144</sup> also occur in the Jātakas<sup>2145</sup> and in the Vinaya.<sup>2146</sup> According to Baudhāyana an ideal economic holding seems to have been a portion of land measuring six nivartanas which should be kept free from taxes on the ground that this much is necessary to support a family. Nivartana was used in the sense of vṛtti or allowance or livelihood; so an area of land sufficient to support one man from its produce was called nivartana. Around the village lay its grazing pastures of herds of cattle. In the earlier periods the pasture does not appear to have been organised in any particular way. In the Jātakas, however, we come across an indirect reference to an enclosed pasture. In the Dhūmkāri Jātaka,<sup>2147</sup> for instance, we read: 'A Brahmin goatherd took a flock of goats and making a pen in the forest, kept them there.' According to Gautama<sup>2148</sup> unenclosed land was used by all for grazing cattle, obtaining firewood, gathering flowers and getting fruits.

(a) *Was there state-landlordism?*—We have seen that in the previous periods while the king had absolute right of disposal of his own lands, he had, if any at all, at that remote age, very limited rights over the land of his subjects or clansmen. The Jātakas also very clearly distinguish private land from royal domain. Thus we were told in the Śālikedāra Jātaka:<sup>2149</sup> 'Once upon a time, a king named Magadha reigned

<sup>2142</sup> Vasiṣṭha's Dharmasūtra, III. 4.

<sup>2143</sup> Kāma Jātaka (No. 466).

<sup>2144</sup> Kariṣa = 4 amnāpa = 8 acres.

<sup>2145</sup> Suvarṇakakkata (No. 389); Śālikedāra [No. 484.]

<sup>2146</sup> I. 287; II. 186.

<sup>2147</sup> No. 413.

<sup>2148</sup> XII. 28.

<sup>2149</sup> No. 484.

in Rājagṛha. At that time there stood a Brahmin village named Sālindiya, towards the north-east as you go out of the city. In this north-eastern district was property (cultivable fields) belonging to Magadha (Magadhakhettam) A Brahmin named Kosiyagotta belonging to this village appears to have taken lease of one thousand karīṣas<sup>2150</sup> out of that royal domain and sowed paddy in it.<sup>2151</sup> The Jayaddiṣa Jātaka<sup>2151</sup> shows us one of the ways in which royal domain increased by way of colonisation. The Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2152</sup> draws a distinction between the land of the king (rañño santakam) and the land of the ordinary land-holders (kutumbassa santakam). The Dharmasūtras also distinguish royal domain from private land. Thus says Vasiṣṭha<sup>2153</sup> "A pledge, a boundary and the property of minors, an open deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king and the wealth of a śrotriya are not lost by being enjoyed by others."

(b) *Private ownership of land*—As to vāstu and the arable land private ownership was fully established. Gautama<sup>2154</sup> recognises this private property in land when he says "Animals, land and females are not lost by possession of another." The Jātakas abound in references to the kutimvaka or kutamvika. They seem to be private landowners.<sup>2155</sup>

As regards the mode of acquisition of property the Gautama Dharma-sūtra<sup>2156</sup> lays down that 'a man becomes owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure or finding.' Acceptance is an additional mode of acquisition for a brahmin, conquest for a kṣatriya and gain by labour for a vaiśya or śūdra. It is true that many of these ways of acquiring wealth

<sup>2150</sup> Rājagahe Magadharāja nāma rajjam  
kāreti. Tadā nagarato puvvat-  
tarāya disāya sālindiyo nāma  
brāhmaṇa-gāmo ahosi. Tassa  
puvvattara disāya magadha-  
khettam. Tattha Kosiyagotta  
nāma sālindiyavāsi brāhmaṇo  
sahassa kārisamattam khettam  
gahetvā sālīm apāpesi—Sālikedāra  
Jātaka (No. 434).

<sup>2151</sup> No. 513.

<sup>2152</sup> No. 276.

<sup>2153</sup> XVI. 18 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV.  
p. 81).

<sup>2154</sup> XII. 39 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 243).

<sup>2155</sup> Satapatra Jātaka (No. 279);  
Matsyadāna (No. 288); Sujāta  
(No. 352) etc. See Childers—  
Pāli Dictionary and Rhys Davids—  
Pāli Dictionary.

<sup>2156</sup> X. 39—42. Cf. Vasiṣṭha, XVI. 16  
S. B. E., Vol. II. 231 and Vol.  
XIV. 81.)



relate to moveable property, but it is also clear that immovable property like land may be acquired by inheritance and succession, which involve acquisition by partition and acceptance of dowry ; by purchase, which implies commerce ; by conquest and occupation or valour ; and by acceptance of gifts in return for instructing a pupil. Land thus acquired might, at least in the kingdom of Magadha, be given away and in that of Kośala be sold. In the former case a Brahmin landowner (Kosiyagotta by name) offers 1000 kariṣas of land as a gift to the Buddha who, however, accepted only eight kariṣas ;<sup>2157</sup> we also hear of the donations of pleasure-gardens to the Buddhist Order by the physician Jīvaka at Rājagṛha, by the courtesan Amvapaṇi in Vaiśālī and above all by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada at Śrāvastī.<sup>2158</sup> As regards the sale of land we are told in the Chullavagga<sup>2159</sup> that the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada entangles an unwilling noble (prince Jeta) in the sale of a park. And in the law books we read that land might be let against a certain share of the produce.<sup>2160</sup>

In proving property, documents, witnesses and possession are admitted as proof of title by Vaśiṣṭha<sup>2161</sup> and if the documents conflict, the statements made by old men, by guilds and corporations are to be relied upon.<sup>2162</sup> Vaśiṣṭha gives some good provisions on the right of way and evidence in disputes regarding immovable property.<sup>2163</sup> Gautama<sup>2164</sup> and Vaśiṣṭha<sup>2165</sup> give the law of acquiring property by usage. The following eight things used by another for ten years continuously, are lost to the owner : ancestral property, a purchased article, a pledged property given to a wife by her husband's family, a gift property received for performing a sacrifice, the property of reunited co-partners and wages. A pledge, a boundary, property of minors, an open deposit, a sealed deposit, female slaves, the property of a king and the wealth of a śrotriya are not lost by

<sup>2157</sup> Sālikedāra Jātaka (No. 484).

<sup>2158</sup> For references see N. Dutt's *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, pp. 103, 143—44, 153, 161.

<sup>2159</sup> VI. 4. 9. (= S. B. E., XX. p. 187) ; Kern—*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 28.

<sup>2160</sup> Āpastamva, II. 11, 28 (1) ; I. 6, 18 (20.)

<sup>2161</sup> XVI. 19.

<sup>2162</sup> Vaśiṣṭha, XVI. 15.

<sup>2163</sup> XVI. 10—15.

<sup>2164</sup> XII. 27—39.

<sup>2165</sup> XVII. 16—18.

being enjoyed by others. Animals, land and females are not lost by possession of another. According to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2166</sup> property entirely given up by its owner goes to the king who is enjoined to administer the property of widows and minors.

(c) *Law of Inheritance*--From the very modes of acquisition it follows that the land under private owners could pass from generation to generation under the customary rules of inheritance and succession. The rules of inheritance supplied by the Sūtras make sapīṇdas the heirs after or in default of sons. The sapīṇda here is one within six degrees and is a male only. The widow is excluded and the daughter according to Āpastamva, inherits only in default of sons, teacher or pupil.<sup>2167</sup> The nuptial presents and ornaments of a wife were inherited by the daughters.<sup>2168</sup> Probably the general rule anticipates not the death of the owner but a division of property among the sons during his lifetime. The king inherits in default of the others named and some say that among the sons only the eldest inherits. These rules are sufficiently vague but local laws are also provided for in the additional rules: "In some countries gold or black cattle or black produce of the earth (grain or iron ?) is the share of the eldest."<sup>2169</sup> Then in regard to what the wife receives, the Sūtra leaves it doubtful whether the rule "the share of the wife consists of her ornaments and wealth received from her relations according to some (authorities)" is to be interpreted in such a manner that 'according to some' refers only to the last clause or to the whole. "What is obvious" says Mrs. Rhys Davids<sup>2170</sup> "is that the whole matter of inheritance was not yet regulated by any general state-law. Different districts of India have different laws of inheritance. Baudhāyana treats the subject of inheritance first under the head of impurity where he says that sapīṇdas inherit in default of nearer relations and sakulyas (remoter relations) in default of sapīṇdas ; but afterwards he adds that the eldest son in accordance with the quotations cited by Āpastamva may receive the best chattel or the father may divide equally between the

<sup>2166</sup> XIV. 8—9.

<sup>2167</sup> II. 6. 14. 4.

<sup>2168</sup> Baudhāyana, II. 2. 3. 4 ; Vasiṣṭha, XVII. 46.

<sup>2169</sup> Āpastamva, II. 14. 7.

<sup>2170</sup> in Rapson's Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

sons. Here also the fact that the same subject is treated in different sections shows that as yet the matter of civil law was not treated systematically but incidentally." Nevertheless we can partially reconstruct the law of inheritance as it prevailed in those days. According to Baudhāyana, of the fourteen kinds of sons, aurasa (legitimate), putrikāputra (son of an appointed daughter), kṣetraja (bastard) datta (adopted), kṛtrima (made) gūḍhaja (secretly born) and the apavidha (abandoned by the parents) were entitled to inheritance. The next six, kṛnina (son of an unmarried daughter), punarbhava (son of a remarried female), swayamdatta (self-given son) and niṣāda (son of a twice-born father in a śūdra mother) were regarded as members of the family. The last Parāśara was not even regarded as a member of the family. Gautama names twelve kinds of sons of whom aurasa, the kṣetraja, datta, kṛtrima, gūḍhaja and apavidha can inherit while kṛnina, sahoda (son of a pregnant bride), punarbhava, putrikāputra, swayamdatta and kṛta (purchased) cannot inherit though they are maintained as members of the family. Vasiṣṭha regards aurasa, kṣetraja, putrikāputra, punarbhava, kṛnina and gūḍhaja as heirs while sahoda, datta, kṛta, swayamdatta, apavidha and niṣāda cannot inherit except when there are no legitimate heirs of the first six classes above mentioned.<sup>2171</sup> Āpastamba who flourished a few centuries later recognised the aurasa sons alone as the legitimate heir, for, the recognition of other sons as heirs could not be allowed among sinful men of his age.<sup>2172</sup> Yet the ancient customs did not die out soon.

Gautama, the earliest law-giver of this age seems to have favoured partition of an estate, for, "in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit."<sup>2173</sup> According to him, the eldest son should get, as an additional share, a twentieth part of the estate, some animals and a carriage, the middlemost son shall get sheep, grain, utensils, a house, a cart and some animals and then the remaining property is equally divided. Or, Gautama would allow the eldest son two shares and the remaining sons one share each. Or, they may take one kind of property by choice according to seniority; or the special shares may be adjusted according to their mothers.<sup>2174</sup> Vasiṣṭha

<sup>2171</sup> XVII.

<sup>2172</sup> II. 6. 13; II. 10. 27.

<sup>2173</sup> XXVIII. 4.

<sup>2174</sup> XXVIII. 5-17.



allows the eldest son to have a double share and a little kine and horses; the middle-most gets utensils and furniture, the youngest takes the goats, sheep and house.<sup>2175</sup> Baudhāyana allows all the children to take equal shares or the eldest son to take one-third in excess.<sup>2176</sup>

The property of unreunited brothers, dying without issue goes to the eldest brother; the property of a reunited co-parcener goes to the co-parcener; what a learned co-parcener has acquired by his own labour may be withheld from his unlearned co-parceners and unlearned co-parceners should divide their acquisitions equally.<sup>2177</sup>

A brahmin's son by a kṣatriya wife, if the eldest, shares equally with a younger brother by a brahmin wife. The sons of a kṣatriya by a vaiśya wife share equally. The son by a śūdra wife, if virtuous, is maintained, while even the son of a wife of equal caste does not inherit, if he be living unrighteously.<sup>2178</sup> According to Baudhāyana<sup>2179</sup> the sons of wives of different castes will take four, three, two and one shares according to the order of castes. According to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2180</sup> if a brahmin has sons by brahmin, kṣatriya and vaiśya wife, the first gets three shares, the second two and the third one share. Āpastamva, however, protests against such unequal division of property and declares that all the virtuous sons should inherit but he who spends money unrighteously shall be disinherited, though he be the eldest son.<sup>2181</sup>

Ordinarily the heirs should pay the debts of a deceased person. But the money due to the parents of a bride, immoral debts and fine shall not devolve upon the sons of a debtor.<sup>2182</sup>

(d) *Land revenue* : (i) *the amount of the royal share*—The Jātakas make it clear that in the monarchies the king had a right to a portion of the produce of the soil. In the Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2183</sup> a person having

<sup>2175</sup> XVIII. 42 f.

<sup>2176</sup> II. 2. 3. 2 f.

<sup>2177</sup> Gautama, XXVIII. 27. 31.

<sup>2178</sup> Ibid., XXVIII. 35—40.

<sup>2179</sup> II. 2. 3. 2—10.

<sup>2180</sup> XVIII. 42—50.

<sup>2181</sup> II. 6. 14. 1—15.

<sup>2182</sup> Gautama, XII. 40—41.

<sup>2183</sup> No. 276 : Imamhā kedārā mayā  
rañño bhāgo databbo, adinnabhā-  
gato yeva cha me kedārato śālisī-  
samutṭhi gāhāpita.

carelessly plucked a handful of corn from his own field regrets : "From this field I have yet to give the king his due, and I have taken a handful of corn from an untithed field." The exact share of the king is not known. Baudhāyana<sup>2184</sup> prescribes one-sixth of the income of the subjects as the pay of the king. According to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2185</sup> the royal share is a sixth part of the wealth of the subjects. According to Gautama<sup>2186</sup> cultivators must pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth of the produce. This difference in the royal share was due probably to the differences in the nature of the soil. A great deal also depended on the whim of the king, for, he seems to have exercised the right of increasing the taxes at will<sup>2187</sup> or of remitting them.<sup>2188</sup> Again according to Vasiṣṭha<sup>2189</sup> no taxes are to be paid on the usufruct of river, dry grass, forest, (places of) combustion and mountains.

(ii) *Land survey*—For the purpose of an accurate realisation of revenue land surveys were also made. In the Kāma Jātaka<sup>2190</sup> we find the royal officers taking a survey of the fields. In the Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2191</sup> we read that one day the Rajjugāhakamachcha (literally the rope-holding minister) was measuring a field by tying a rope to a stick and giving one end of the rope to the owner of the field to hold, while himself keeping the stick into his own hand. The rope-holding minister (or surveyor) happened to put the stick in a crab's hole with the crab inside, whereupon he thought : 'If I put the stick into the hole, the crab in the hole will be hurt ; if I put it on the other side the king's property will lose ; and if I put it on this side, the farmer will lose.'

(iii) *Land revenue administration*—The local officials who carried on the civil, judicial and military administration appear also to have carried on the work of collecting the revenue. The Central Government, however,

<sup>2184</sup> I. 18 1 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 199)

<sup>2185</sup> I. 42 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 8)

<sup>2186</sup> X. 21, 27 (= S. B. E. Vol. II. pp. 229—30).

<sup>2187</sup> Gagga Jātaka (No. 155); Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (No. 302).

<sup>2188</sup> Kāma Jātaka (No. 467).

<sup>2189</sup> XIX. 26 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 99.

<sup>2190</sup> No. 467 : Rājakammikā khetṭappa-mānā-gahanatthāya tam gāṃmam agamimsu.

<sup>2191</sup> No. 276.

maintained a body of officials who co-operated with the local bodies in this respect. In the Jātaka period Northern India was divided into sixteen independent states (ṣoḷasamahājanapadāni).<sup>2192</sup> Some of these states were organised into provinces under viceroys and the province into districts (janapada) and villages. Thus the Kāma Jātaka<sup>2193</sup> tells us that a prince, having at first no desire to rule his kingdom, left it but later on became greedy and won over a village. Then he wanted to have the janapada and the viceroyalty (uparājjam) as well. The Mahāswapna Jātaka<sup>2194</sup> also refers to kingdom (raṭṭa), district (janapada) and village (gāma) in successive order. From the Kharamvara Jātaka<sup>2195</sup> we find that the revenue specially from the distant border villages was collected by an amachcha. According to Āpastamva<sup>2196</sup> the king should appoint men of the first three castes who are pure and truthful over villages and towns.....(and) shall make them collect the lawful taxes. The royal share known as vali was collected generally in kind. The produce of the field was taken to the public granary for the excision of the royal tithe before being taken to the barns of the respective owners. Such public granaries were in charge of officers who are aptly called Drona-māpaka mahāmatto. In the Kurudharma Jātaka<sup>2197</sup> we are told that sitting at the door of the granary he caused to be measured the king's share of the produce. The tax was collected by officials called Valisādhaka and Rājakammika.<sup>2198</sup> Though the vali was usually paid in kind, cash payment was not altogether unknown. Thus the Vardhaki-sūkara Jātaka<sup>2199</sup> records the gift of the sata-sahassutthāyikam Kāsigāmaṃ [a village of Kāśī yielding 100,000 (kahāpanas) as revenue]. The Avārya Jātaka<sup>2200</sup> also refers to a village yielding the same amount.

**Agriculture**—Most of the arable land was cultivated by peasant-proprietors (khetṭapati, vatthupati) and cultivation of lands by peasants

<sup>2192</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 23.

<sup>2193</sup> No. 467.

<sup>2194</sup> No. 77.

<sup>2195</sup> No. 79.

<sup>2196</sup> II. 26. 4. 9 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. pp. 163—64).

<sup>2197</sup> No. 276 : Kotṭhāgāradvāro nisīditvā rājabhāge vīhim mināpento.

<sup>2198</sup> Kāma Jātaka (No. 467); Gandatindu Jātaka (No. 520).

<sup>2199</sup> No. 283.

<sup>2200</sup> No. 376.



for princes was regarded as a mark of social decay.<sup>2201</sup> From the Mahāvagga<sup>2202</sup> we learn that Buddhist saṃghas sometimes cultivated lands belonging to private persons and used to get half of the produce as their share or sometimes let out their own lands in lieu of half of the produce. "Of the seedlings belonging to the Saṃgha, grown upon private ground, half the produce, O Bhikkhus, you may have, when you have given a part to the private owner. Of seedlings belonging to private persons grown up on the ground, the property of the Saṃgha, you may have the use, when you have given a part to the owner."

(a) *Agricultural operations* : In the Suttanipāta we have the story of Kāśī Bharadvāja where we find mention of the plough (nangala), the oxen-team, the yoke (yuga) and the goad (pācana). The Śakuna Jātaka<sup>2203</sup> describes the successive stages of agriculture. In it we are told that when a Buddhist monk asked the villagers to build a house for him the latter agreed to do so after the rains have come and watered their fields ; when the rains came and watered their fields they agreed to build the house for the monk after sowing the seeds ; when seeds were sown they agreed to do the monk's work after enclosing their fields ; when their fields were fenced, they agreed to do the monk's work after clearing up the weeds in their fields ; when the weeds were cleared up they agreed to do the monk's work after reaping the harvest ; when the harvest was reaped, they agreed to do the monk's work after the corn had been threshed on the threshing floor ; in this way the work of building a house for the monk was indefinitely put off. In the Chullavagga<sup>2204</sup> Mahānāma the Śākyan thus describes the farming operations : "First you have to get your fields ploughed. When that is done, you have to get the water let down over them. When that is done, you have to get the water let off again. When that is done, you have to get the weeds pulled up. When that is done, you have to get crops reaped. When that is done, you have to get the crops carried away. When that is done, you have to get it arranged in bundles. When that is done, you have to get it trodden out.

<sup>2201</sup> Jātaka I. 339.

<sup>2203</sup> No. 36.

<sup>2202</sup> VI. 39, i (=S. B. E., Vol. XVII.  
p. 143)

<sup>2204</sup> VII. 1, 2.

When that is done you have to get the straw picked out. When that is done, you have to get all the chaff removed. When that is done, you have to get it winnowed. When that is done, you have to get the harvest garnered. When that is done, you have to do just the same the next year and the same all over again the year after". The *Uraga Jātaka* (No. 354) refers to the custom of maid-servants bringing food to the cultivators working in the field.

(b) *Protection of the crops* : In the Rigvedic period the cultivators kept away birds from the corn fields by making din and noise.<sup>2205</sup> But in this period as the *Śīlikedāra Jātaka*<sup>2206</sup> shows, nets made of the hair of horse's tail were used for catching birds that used to eat up the crops. The *Mahāvagga* (I. 50) even refers to the use of scare-crows. In the *Lakṣaṇa Jātaka*<sup>2207</sup> we find that to kill the deer which used to eat up the harvest, the cultivators used to dig up pits, place snares, fix stakes and *pāsāṇa yanta* (stone-made instruments to catch beasts).

(c) *Ceremonies connected with agriculture* :—For success in agriculture the *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe a number of ceremonies. Thus there is a rite for ploughing when sacrifice is made to *aśani* (thunderbolt) and to *Sitā* (furrow) as well as to *Aradā*, *Anghā*, *Parjanya*, *Indra* and *Bhaga* with similar offerings on the occasion of the threshing floor sacrifice, when one reaps the harvest or sows the seeds, all portraying the life of the agriculturist who also offers a sacrifice at mole-heaps to *Akhurāja*, the king of moles.<sup>2208</sup>

(d) *Rainfall* :—The North-western part of the country seems to have enjoyed sufficient rainfall. *Aristobulus*<sup>2209</sup> recorded that rains began when the European army reached *Taxila* in the spring of 326 B. C. and became continuous with the prevalence of the monsoon, all the time they were marching eastward along the foothills of the *Himalayas*. When the Greeks looked round upon the features of the country India seemed, before anything

<sup>2205</sup> *Rig Veda*, X. 68. 1

<sup>2206</sup> No. 484.

<sup>2207</sup> No. 11.

<sup>2208</sup> *Govila Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 4. 28f ;  
Ibid., 30f.

<sup>2209</sup> Fragment 29—*Strabo* XV. C. 691 ;  
cf. C. 697.

else to be the land of rivers.<sup>2210</sup> Megasthenes mentions 58 rivers of which thirty-five names are preserved and are still recognisable to-day.<sup>2211</sup>

(e) *Irrigation* :—Despite this natural supply of water various methods of irrigation were also known. From the Dharmapada<sup>2212</sup> it appears that the boundaries of each house-holder's plot of arable land were made by channels dug for co-operative irrigation. These dividing ditches, rectangular and curvilinear, were likened to a patch-work robe, prescribed by the Buddha as a pattern for the uniform of his order.<sup>2213</sup> The Kāma Jātaka<sup>2214</sup> speaks of a brahmin making little embanked squares for water. We also hear of the rivers being dammed for the purpose of irrigation. We thus read in the Kunāla Jātaka : <sup>2215</sup> "The Śākya and the Koliyans had the river Rohini which flows between the cities of Kapilavastu and Kolia, confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. In the month of Jeṭṭamula when crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from both the cities assembled together. Then the Koliyans said 'Should this water be drawn off on both sides it will not prove sufficient for both us and you. But our crops will thrive with a single watering, give us then the water.'"

(f) *Cultivated plants* :—The Gṛhyasūtras prove that there were two harvests a year and that the people long realised the advantages of a rotation crops in that a season of barley was succeeded by one of rice.<sup>2216</sup> As to the cultivated plants we find the names of (1) vṛhi (rice)<sup>2217</sup> (2) gandha-

<sup>2210</sup> Strabo XV. C. 689.

<sup>2211</sup> Fragment 18 = Arrian—Indica, 4; Pliny—Natural History, VI. Art. 64f.

<sup>2212</sup> Dhṛp., verse 80—145 = Therag. 19.

<sup>2213</sup> Vinaya Texts, II. 207—09; Mah., VIII. 12; cf. Psalms of the Brethern, p. 152.

<sup>2214</sup> No. 466.

<sup>2215</sup> No. 536.

<sup>2216</sup> Vṛhiprabhṛtya ā yavebhyo yave-

bhyo vā vṛhibhya swayam haret svayam haret—Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 37 (= S. B. E., Vol. XXIX. p. 388); also Govila Gṛhyasūtra, I. 4. 29.

<sup>2217</sup> Mahāsvapna Jātaka (No. 77); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 11. 2; I. 9. 6; I. 17. 12; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 17. 7; I. 22. 5; I. 24. 3; I. 28. 6; III. 1. 3.



śāli<sup>2218</sup> (3) chinaka<sup>2219</sup> (4) taṇḍulā<sup>2220</sup> (5) śyāmaka<sup>2221</sup> (6) yava<sup>2222</sup> (7) godhuma<sup>2223</sup> (8) mudga<sup>2224</sup> (9) māsa<sup>2225</sup> and (10) sugarcane.<sup>2226</sup>

The Jātakas<sup>2227</sup> refer to the parṇikas who used to earn their living by growing green vegetables on their fields. Among the green vegetables we find the mention of (1) gourd (alāvu)<sup>2228</sup> (2) pumpkin (kuṣmānda,<sup>2229</sup> vali-va)<sup>2230</sup> (3) cucumber<sup>2231</sup> (4) ervārūka (a kind of cucumber)<sup>2232</sup> (5) yag-dummura (a kind of fig)<sup>2233</sup> (6) garlic<sup>2234</sup> (7) radish (mūlā)<sup>2235</sup> (8) a kind of sweet potatoes (mīluva)<sup>2236</sup> and (9) pot-herbs or esculent vegetables (śāka).<sup>2237</sup> The Viśwantara Jātaka<sup>2238</sup> refers to karoti (=rājamāsa=Bengali varbati) and to kalamvī. The leaves of a shrub (gulma) called kāra<sup>2239</sup> and of Indravaruṇi tree<sup>2240</sup> were taken by the people after boiling them. Among different varieties of kanda (bulbous or tuberous

- 2218 = Scented rice (Keśava Jātaka No. 346).  
 2219 = Sanskrit vrīhibheda (Sudhābhojana Jātaka No. 535).  
 2220 Nikkuṇḍuka thusā swayamjāta taṇḍulasāsāni=rice that comes from the plant, having no husk etc. (Sudhābhojana Jātaka No. 535).  
 2221 The seeds of a kind of grass called śyāmā which were eaten by the poor (Sudhābhojana Jātaka No. 535).  
 2222 Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77); Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 11. 2; I. 9. 6; I. 17. 2; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24. 3; I. 28. 6; III. 1. 3; IV. 4. 9.  
 2223 Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77).  
 2224 Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77); Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra I. 22. 5; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 4.  
 2225 Mahāswapna Jātaka (No. 77).  
 2226 Ibid. The word hareṇukā occurs in the Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 77). In Pāli it is the collective name for mudga, māsa, tila,

- alāvu and kuṣmānda. In Sanskrit it means a kind of beans.  
 2227 Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70); Parṇika Jātaka (No. 102).  
 2228 Kuddāla (No. 70); Mahāswapna (No. 77); Parṇika (No. 102); śaḍadanta (No. 514); Soumanasya (No. 505).  
 2229 Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70); Parṇika (No. 102); Soumanasya (No. 505); śaḍadanta (No. 514).  
 2230 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
 2231 Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70).  
 2232 = Pāli Elāluka (śaḍadanta No. 514).  
 2233 Udamvara Jātaka (No. 298).  
 2234 Viśwantara (No. 547); Suvārṇa-haṃsa (No. 136).  
 2235 Pañchāyudha Jātaka (No. 55).  
 2236 Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2237 Kuddāla Jātaka (No. 70); Parṇika (No. 102).  
 2238 No. 547.  
 2239 Akīrti Jātaka (No. 480).  
 2240 Ibid.; Kṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 440).

roots) the Takkala<sup>2241</sup> and Viśwantara Jātakas<sup>2242</sup> mention (1) takkala (2) ālupa (3) virālikā and (4) kalamva which according to the commentator are (1) pīṇḍalu (2) ālukanda (3) virālavalli kanda and (4) tālakanda respectively.

Of oil-bearing plants sesamum<sup>2243</sup> and mustard<sup>2244</sup> are frequently mentioned. Among spices the Jātakas refer to (1) ādraka (ginger)<sup>2245</sup> (2) jiraka (cumin-seed)<sup>2246</sup> (3) marica<sup>2247</sup> and (4) pippali (pepper).<sup>2248</sup>

Of colour-bearing plants indigo<sup>2249</sup> was the most important.

As to fibrous plants karpāsa is mentioned for the first time in the Āśvālayana Śrautasūtra.<sup>2250</sup> Herodotus also speaks of the cotton plant as yielding vegetable wool "surpassing in beauty and quality the wool of sheep and the Indians wear clothing from these trees."<sup>2251</sup> From the Mahāvagga we learn that śimula or cotton silk mentioned in the Jātakas<sup>2252</sup> was used in the preparation of quilts (tulika) stuffed with cotton-wool. Śana (Crotalaria Junica) is mentioned in the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra<sup>2253</sup> and in the sūtras of Pāṇini. Linen flax (Linum Usitatissimum) was also known.<sup>2254</sup> Makaci, a kind of fibre with which strainers were made is mentioned in the Valodaka Jātaka.<sup>2255</sup>

**Forests and their economic importance**—The forests continued as in the earlier periods to serve the purpose of natural pastures. "The

<sup>2241</sup> No. 446.

<sup>2242</sup> No. 547.

<sup>2243</sup> Āśvālayana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 9. 6; I. 17.2; II. 4. 4; IV. 4.13; IV. 7. 11; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 2. 26; I. 3. 18; IV. 1. 16; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 4; II. 6. 17; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 28. 6; III. 1. 3; IV. 1. 3; IV. 3. 4.

<sup>2244</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 17. 23; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 1. 3.

<sup>2245</sup> Kapota Jātaka (No. 42); Godhā Jātaka (No. 325).

<sup>2246</sup> Kapota Jātaka (No. 42); Romaka (No. 277); Godhā (No. 325).

<sup>2247</sup> Romaka (No. 277); Godhā (No. 325).

<sup>2248</sup> Godhā Jātaka (No. 325).

<sup>2249</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 23. 1; compare Nīli of Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2250</sup> V. 4. 17.

<sup>2251</sup> McCrindle's Ancient India, III. 103.

<sup>2252</sup> Khullanārada Jātaka (No. 477).

<sup>2253</sup> I. 24. 11.

<sup>2254</sup> Chullaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>2255</sup> No. 183.

Bodhisattva had a herdsman who when the corn was growing thick, drove his cows to the forest and kept them there at a shieling."<sup>2256</sup> Secondly, they supplied the people with wild rice<sup>2257</sup> and esculent vegetables.<sup>2258</sup> In the third place, the forests were a perennial source of supply of fuel and timber.<sup>2259</sup> In the fourth place, the forests supplied the people with aloe (aguru),<sup>2260</sup> bdellium (guggulu),<sup>2261</sup> spikenard (naladī),<sup>2262</sup> camphor (karpūra),<sup>2263</sup> liquorice (yaṣṭimadhu),<sup>2264</sup> costus (kuṣṭha),<sup>2265</sup> lac (lākṣā),<sup>2266</sup> tail of a yak,<sup>2267</sup> ivory<sup>2268</sup> and sandalwood.<sup>2269</sup> Sandalwood-powder used by ladies as a toilette for the breasts,<sup>2270</sup> essence of sandalwood (candanasāra)<sup>2271</sup> and sandalwood oil<sup>2272</sup> were highly prized. In the fifth place, the forest-tracts served as habitations for certain classes of people. According to the Pañcha-upsattha Jātaka<sup>2273</sup> people who had curbed their worldly desires inhabited these regions. The Sūtras<sup>2274</sup> also describe different classes of hermits living in these forests. The forests were also the habitations of the Aṭaviyas who appeared to have been fully acquainted with the forest-paths and used to hire themselves out as guides to cara-

- <sup>2256</sup> Viśwāsabhañjana Jātaka (No. 93); Sandhibheda Jātaka (No. 349).  
<sup>2257</sup> Vālāhśva (No. 196); Palāśa (No. 368); Viśwantara (No. 547). In the Viśwantara Jātaka wild rice of two different kinds is mentioned (1) Swayam Sātikā = Pāli Samsādiyā. According to commentator it is otherwise known as Sukaraśālī (2) Prasātikā = Pāli Pasādiyā.  
<sup>2258</sup> Parpika Jātaka (No. 102).  
<sup>2259</sup> Alinacitta Jātaka (No. 156).  
<sup>2260</sup> Bhallāṭika (No. 504); Khandahāla (No. 542); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2261</sup> Mātāṅga Jātaka (No. 497); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2262</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2263</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).

- <sup>2264</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2265</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2266</sup> Nyagrodhamṛga Jātaka (No. 12); Kṣhāntivādi (No. 313); Suvarṇamṛga (No. 359); Vidurapandita (No. 545).  
<sup>2267</sup> Nyagrodhamṛga Jātaka (No. 12).  
<sup>2268</sup> Kāśāya Jātaka (No. 221).  
<sup>2269</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2270</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 537).  
<sup>2271</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).  
<sup>2272</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 537).  
<sup>2273</sup> No. 490.  
<sup>2274</sup> Āpastamva, II.9. 13 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 123.; Baudhāyana, III. 3 (= S. B. E., Vol. XIV. p. 291 ff.; Gautama, III. 2 (= S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 192).



vans.<sup>2275</sup> Lastly, some of the forest-tracts were extremely valuable for their supply of elephants. The earliest reference to elephant-forests (mātañgāranya) is probably in the Mahāvagga.<sup>2276</sup> The Majjhima Nikāya also refers to elephant-preserves (nāgavana).<sup>2277</sup>

The various useful trees known to the people of this period are:—(1) Tirīti<sup>2278</sup> = Tirita of Amara (2) Śallakī.<sup>2279</sup> According to the commentator it is Indraśāla tree (= Boswellia Thurifera). From its extract (niryyāsa) a scent called lavān or kundurā was prepared (3) Karpūra (camphor)<sup>2280</sup> (4) Khadira<sup>2281</sup> from which we get catechu (5) Bhangā<sup>2282</sup> from which a narcotic (hemp) is obtained (6) Aśvakarna<sup>2283</sup> (7) Aśvattha<sup>2284</sup> (8) Palāśa<sup>2285</sup> (9) Tvaksāra (bamboo)<sup>2286</sup> (10) Kūṭaja<sup>2287</sup> (11) Visa<sup>2288</sup> (12) Śimula (silk-cotton tree)<sup>2289</sup> (13) Śāla<sup>2290</sup> (14) Tilaka<sup>2291</sup> (15) Soubhañjana (= Sajinā)<sup>2292</sup> (16) Varuṇa<sup>2293</sup> (17) Vūrjja (Birch)<sup>2294</sup> (18) Vediśa<sup>2295</sup> (19) Venu<sup>2296</sup> (20) Muchakunda<sup>2297</sup> (21) Picu-

<sup>2275</sup> Kṣhurapra Jātaka (No. 265); Jayaddvisa (No. 513).

<sup>2276</sup> X. 3. 1.

<sup>2277</sup> See Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II. p. 265).

<sup>2278</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 535).

<sup>2279</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

<sup>2280</sup> Andhabhūti Jātaka (No. 62); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2281</sup> Kaṇḍagalaka Jātaka (No. 210); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2282</sup> Sudhābhajana Jātaka (No. 535).

<sup>2283</sup> Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2284</sup> Saṃkalpa Jātaka (No. 210); Palāśa (No. 305); Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2285</sup> Palāśa Jātaka (No. 305); Palāśa (No. 368); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2286</sup> Tvaksāra Jātaka (No. 368).

<sup>2287</sup> Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2288</sup> Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

<sup>2289</sup> Khullānārada Jātaka (No. 477).

<sup>2290</sup> Bhallātika (No. 504); Chāṃpeya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2291</sup> Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Vidurapandita (No. 545).

<sup>2292</sup> Sudhābhajana (No. 535); cf. Akṣiva = Sajinā in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547); Śovāñjana = Sajinā in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2293</sup> Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Karerī = Varuṇa in Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2294</sup> Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Nalinikā (No. 526).

<sup>2295</sup> Sudhābhajana Jātaka (No. 535).

<sup>2296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2297</sup> Sudhābhajana Jātaka (No. 535); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Muchilinda = Muchakunda in Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).

manda (=Neem)<sup>2298</sup> (22) Kuravaka<sup>2299</sup> (23) Chetasa<sup>2300</sup> (24) Ba-  
juda<sup>2301</sup> (=sanskrit Vañjula) (25) Punnāga<sup>2302</sup> (26) Priyaka<sup>2203</sup> (=Piya-  
śāla) (27) Āsana<sup>2304</sup> (28) Sarala<sup>2305</sup> (Pine) (29) Kārāgula (=Kālā-  
guru)<sup>2306</sup> (30) Padmaka<sup>2307</sup> (31) Devadāru<sup>2308</sup> (32) Kakudha (=  
Kakubha=Arjuna)<sup>2309</sup> (33) Kachchikāra<sup>2310</sup> (34) Tūṇa (=Toon)<sup>2311</sup>  
(35) Kaṇavera (=Karavīra)<sup>2312</sup> (36) Karandaka<sup>2313</sup> (37) Kovidāra<sup>2314</sup>  
(38) Anangana<sup>2315</sup> (39) Anavajja<sup>2316</sup> (40) Suruchira<sup>2317</sup> (41) Bhagini<sup>2318</sup>  
(42) Dhanukārika<sup>2319</sup> (43) Tālisa (=Tali=Paniyalā)<sup>2320</sup> (44) Kotta<sup>2321</sup>  
(45) Saptaparni<sup>2322</sup> (46) Uparibhadra<sup>2323</sup> (47) Karajāña (=Karañjaka=Dal-  
bergea Arborea)<sup>2324</sup> (48) Dhava.<sup>2325</sup> It is called Dhao tree in Orissa and in  
the Santhal Pargannas (49) Dhatri<sup>2326</sup> (50) Vallika<sup>2327</sup> (51) Putrañjiva<sup>2328</sup>  
(52) Kosamva<sup>2329</sup> (53) Somavṛkṣa<sup>2330</sup> (54) Paṅgura<sup>2331</sup> (55) Mahā-

- 2298 Pāli Puchimanda (Pichumanda  
Jātaka (No. 310).  
2299 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Sveta-  
puṣpā Jhinti-Kuravaka while  
pitapūṣpā Jhinti=Kurupṭaka.  
2300 Ibid.  
2301 Ibid.  
2302 Ibid.; Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2303 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Asana=  
Piyaśāla in Viśwantara (No. 547);  
cf. Ajurkarpa=Piyaśāla in Viśwan-  
tara (No. 547). Piyaśāla=Pentap-  
tera tomentosa.  
2304 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
2305 Ibid.; Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2306 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
2307 Ibid.; Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2308 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
2309 Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547); cf.  
Kakuda in Viśwantara (No. 547).  
2310 Ibid.  
2311 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
2312 Ibid.  
2313 Viśwantara (No. 547). It may be  
Kurupṭaka of Amara; cf. Koranda  
of Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).

- 2314 Viśwantara (No. 547); Kunāla  
Jātaka (No. 536).  
2315 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
2316 Ibid.  
2317 Ibid.  
2318 Ibid.; cf. Bhaginīmāla in Vidura-  
paṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545).  
2319 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536). According  
to the commentator it is the same  
as Dhanupātali.  
2320 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwan-  
tara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2321 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
2322 Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545);  
Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2323 Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545).  
Uparibhadra=Bhadraka = either  
Devadāru or Kadamva.  
2324 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2325 Spandana Jātaka (No. 475);  
Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2326 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2327 Ibid. Vallika = Vallātaka (P).  
2328 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
2329 Ibid.  
2330 Ibid. Somavṛkṣa=Soma plant (P).

nāma<sup>2332</sup> (56) Śvetaparni<sup>2333</sup> (57) Śvetāguru<sup>2334</sup> (58) Jāṭamāmsi<sup>2335</sup> (59) Nilapuspi<sup>2336</sup> (60) Śvetavāri<sup>2337</sup> (61) Kateruha<sup>2338</sup> (62) Tulasi plant<sup>2339</sup> (63) Asitaru<sup>2340</sup> (64) Katamāla (Viśwantara Jātaka) = Kṛtamāla of Amara = Sonāli (65) Cocha (Kunāla Jātaka). According to Amara it belongs to the 'guratvak' species (66) Phanijjaka (Viśwantara Jātaka) = Phanijjhaka of Amara. According to Amara it belongs to the 'Jamvira' species and (67) Kakkola from which a gandhadravya was prepared.

Among the flower plants and trees the following are mentioned in the literature of this period :—(1) Kusumbha (safflower)<sup>2341</sup> (2) Karṇikara = Uddālaka = Sonāli = Casia fistula<sup>2342</sup> (3) Kaṇṭakuranda<sup>2343</sup> (4) Kimśuka<sup>2344</sup> (5) Kadamva<sup>2345</sup> (6) Añkola =<sup>2346</sup> Añkolaka = Añkolla = Añkola = Añkoṭha (?) of Amara. According to the author of Flora Indica it is Bengali Ākārakaṇṭha. (7) Sattali (Pali) = Sans. Saptali = Bengali Navamalika<sup>2347</sup> (8) Mādhavi<sup>2348</sup> (9) Yūthikā<sup>2349</sup> (10) Lodhra<sup>2350</sup> (11) Sthalapadma (plant)<sup>2351</sup> (12) Ketakī<sup>2352</sup> (13) Vakula<sup>2353</sup> (14) Cham-

- 2331 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
 2332 Ibid.  
 2333 Ibid.  
 2334 Ibid.  
 2335 Ibid.  
 2336 Ibid.  
 2337 Ibid.  
 2338 Ibid.  
 2339 Ibid.  
 2340 Ibid. The commentator adds the gloss: Siniddhāya bhūmiyaṃ thitā tālāviya rukkhā.  
 2341 Puspabhakta Jātaka (No. 147).  
 2342 Dardara (No. 172); Bhallāṭika (No. 504); Chāmpēya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Kunāla (536); Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2343 Dardara (No. 172); cf. Karandaka in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
 2344 Kimśukopama Jātaka (No. 246); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara

- (No. 547). The Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547) refers to a plant called Kimśukalatikā.  
 2345 Mahotkrośa (No. 486); Nipa = Kadamva in Kimchhandu (No. 511) and Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2346 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504); Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2347 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504)  
 2348 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504); Atimuktaka = Atimukta = Mādhavīlatā in Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
 2349 Vallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504); Yodhi = Yodhikā = Yūthikā in Kunāla (No. 536) and Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2350 Sudhābhajana Jātaka (No. 535).  
 2351 Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2352 Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Kunāla (No. 536); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
 2353 Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).



paka<sup>2354</sup> (15) Aśoka<sup>2355</sup> (16) Nāgakeśara<sup>2356</sup> (17) Vanamallikā<sup>2357</sup> (18) Tagara<sup>2358</sup> (19) Nāgamālikā<sup>2359</sup> (20) Nāgavallī<sup>2360</sup> (21) Madhuka<sup>2361</sup> (22) Nyagrodha<sup>2362</sup> (23) Kuravaka<sup>2363</sup> (24) Pātali<sup>2364</sup> (25) Sindhuvāra = Niṣindā<sup>2365</sup> (26) Bhaṇḍi = Bhaṇḍila = Śirīṣa or Gheṇṭu flower<sup>2366</sup> (27) Jāti<sup>2367</sup> (28) Sumana<sup>2368</sup> = Davala Yūthikā or Mallikā (29) Madhugandhika<sup>2369</sup> (30) Śwetachchha<sup>2370</sup> (31) Raktamāla = Naktamāla<sup>2371</sup> (32) Śimśapā<sup>2372</sup> (33) Asphotaka<sup>2373</sup> (34) Sūryyavallī<sup>2374</sup> (35) Anoja<sup>2375</sup> (36) Vāsanti<sup>2376</sup> (37) Kimpśukalatikā<sup>2377</sup> (38) Padmottara<sup>2378</sup> and (39) Elāmvarā<sup>2379</sup> a plant of the drākṣā species the scent of whose flowers last for a week.<sup>2380</sup>

Among the fruit trees of this period the following are the most important :—(1) Mango<sup>2381</sup> (2) Dhruvaphalo Amvo (mango tree which yielded

- <sup>2354</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).  
<sup>2355</sup> Kunāla (No. 536); Khandahāla (No. 542); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2356</sup> Viśwantara (No. 547); cf. Nāgarukha (Pāli) = Nāgavikṣa - Nāgakeśara (?) in Kunāla (No. 536).  
<sup>2357</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
<sup>2358</sup> Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2359</sup> Vidurapandita (No. 545). In the Drāviḍa land a kind of Yūthikā flower is called Nāgamallī.  
<sup>2360</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2361</sup> This tree yields Mahuā flower. Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Saṃkalpa (No. 251); Śaktigulma (No. 503); Sudhābhajana (No. 535).  
<sup>2362</sup> Saṃkalpa Jātaka (No. 251); Sudhābhajana (No. 535).  
<sup>2363</sup> Vallātika Jātaka (No. 504).  
<sup>2364</sup> Vallātika (No. 504); Chāṃpeya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Khandahāla (No. 542); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2365</sup> Vallātika (No. 504); Sudhābhajana (No. 535); Vidurapandita (No.

- 545). Compare Nirguṇḍī = Niṣindā in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2366</sup> Kunāla (No. 536); Viśwantara (No. 547); Śirīṣa is mentioned in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2367</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2368</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
<sup>2369</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2370</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2371</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2372</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2373</sup> Ibid. Is it Āsphotā of Amara? Āsphotā is another name of Aparājītā.  
<sup>2374</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2375</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2376</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2377</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2378</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2379</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2380</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2381</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495); Chāṃpeya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Khandahāla (No. 542); Vidurapandita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).

mangoes throughout the year)<sup>2382</sup> (3) Jamvu (black-berry tree)<sup>2383</sup> (4) Vilva<sup>2384</sup> (5) Vadari<sup>2385</sup> (6) Kapittha<sup>2386</sup> (7) Kharjjura<sup>2387</sup> (8) Tāla<sup>2388</sup> (9) Cocconut<sup>2389</sup> (10) Haritaki<sup>2390</sup> (11) Āmalaki<sup>2391</sup> (12) Vibhitaka (Vahedā)<sup>2392</sup> (13) Tinduka (Gāva or Ebony)<sup>2393</sup> (14) Udamvara<sup>2394</sup> (15) Kuruvinda = Mūthā or Vādāma (Terminalia catappa)<sup>2395</sup> (16) Panasa<sup>2396</sup> (17) Piyāla<sup>2397</sup> (18) Lakucha<sup>2398</sup> (19) Lavuja<sup>2399</sup> (20) Kāra, a shrub<sup>2400</sup> (21) Kadali (plantain)<sup>2401</sup> (22) Mocha (Pali).<sup>2402</sup> According to the commentator it is aṣṭikadali (= Bengali Vichekalā) (23) Timvaru<sup>2403</sup> which yields a kind of Gāva fruit (Diospyros glutinosa) (24) Drakṣā (vine)<sup>2404</sup> (25) Saha<sup>2405</sup> (= Sahakāra, according to the commentator). The tree which yields scented mangoes is called Sahakāra (Sahakārah atisourabhah). In Sanskrit, however, Saha means other kinds of trees like Rāsnā.

Among shrubs, plants and trees yielding scents we find (1) Haridrā<sup>2406</sup> (turmeric, curcuma, haldi) (2) Kuṣṭha (costus)<sup>2407</sup> (3) Agurū (aloe)<sup>2408</sup> (4) Narada (= nalada, naladi, spikenard)<sup>2409</sup> (5) Guggulu (bdellium)<sup>2410</sup>

2382 Śavaka Jātaka (No. 309).

2383 Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).  
Chāampeya (No. 506); Nalinikā (No. 526); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).

2384 Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).

2385 Ibid.; Viśwantara (No. 547).

2386 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

2387 Ibid. Keka = Koka (?) = Kharjjura in Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).

2388 Vinilaka Jātaka (No. 160); Markaṭa (No. 173); Suvarṇakarkāṭa (No. 389); Viśwantara (No. 547); cf. Vibhedaka = Tāla tree in Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547)

2389 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

2390 Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495); Viśwantara (No. 547).

2391 Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).

2392 Karkara (No. 209); Daśabrāhmaṇa (No. 495); Viśwantara (No. 547).

2393 Tinduka Jātaka (No. 177); Palāśa (No. 305); Śaktigulma (No. 503); Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).

2394 Saṃkalpa Jātaka (No. 251).

2395 Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

2396 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

2397 Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495); Śaktigulma (No. 503).

2398 Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).

2399 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

2400 Śaktigulma Jātaka (No. 503).

2401 ṣaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514); Sudhābhojana (No. 535).

2402 Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).

2403 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

2404 Ibid.

2405 Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545).

2406 Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

2407 Ibid.

2408 Ibid.

2409 Ibid.

2410 Ibid.

(6) Yaṣṭimadhu<sup>2411</sup> (liquorice) (7) Sandalwood<sup>2412</sup> (8) Priyaṅga<sup>2413</sup> (9) Gandhaśīla<sup>2414</sup> (10) Bhādrāmūṣṭā<sup>2415</sup> (11) Śatapuṣpa<sup>2416</sup> (12) Jhāmaka<sup>2417</sup> (13) Tungavṛnta<sup>2418</sup> (14) Hrīvera<sup>2419</sup> (15) Choraka<sup>2420</sup> (16) Kalinga<sup>2421</sup> (17) Unnaka<sup>2422</sup> (18) Lolupa<sup>2423</sup> (19) and Karpūra (camphor) already mentioned.

The following varieties of grass and reeds were also known in this period :—(1) Kāśa<sup>2424</sup> (2) Kuśa<sup>2425</sup> (3) Potakila ( Pāli ) = Potagala ( Sans ).<sup>2426</sup> It is a grass of the Śara species. (4) Pavvaja = Valvaja<sup>2427</sup> (5) Muñja<sup>2428</sup> and (6) Uśīra ( = Khaskhas ).<sup>2429</sup>

**Mines**—As to minerals we find mention of (1) iron<sup>2430</sup> (2) copper<sup>2431</sup> (3) lead<sup>2432</sup> (4) tin (ranga)<sup>2433</sup> (5) silver<sup>2434</sup> (6) gold<sup>2435</sup> (7) yellow orpiment (haritālā)<sup>2436</sup> (8) manahśīlā<sup>2437</sup> and (9) hingulaka.<sup>2438</sup> Precious stones like Vaidurya<sup>2439</sup> and diamond<sup>2440</sup> were also known. The production of gold must have been considerable in North-western India, for, according to Herodotus,<sup>2441</sup> the Indian satrapy of Darius paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust. The fact of India paying her tribute in gold naturally leads to the question—Where was the source of all this gold? According to Hero-

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|------|---|------|---|
| 2411 | Ibid.   | 2427 | Ibid.   |
| 2412 | Kunāla ( No. 526 ); Viśwantara ( No. 547 ).                       | 2428 | Ibid.   |
| 2413 | Viśwantara ( No. 547 ); cf. Piyangu in Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ). | 2429 | Ibid. ; Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ); Sudhābhajana Jātaka ( 535 ). |
| 2414 | Viśwantara Jātaka ( No. 547 ).                                    | 2430 | Jarudapāna Jātaka ( No. 256 ).                                  |
| 2415 | Ibid.   | 2431 | Ibid.   |
| 2416 | Ibid.   | 2432 | Ibid.   |
| 2417 | Ibid.   | 2433 | Ibid.   |
| 2418 | Ibid.   | 2434 | Ibid. ; Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ).                              |
| 2419 | Ibid.   | 2435 | Ibid.   |
| 2420 | Ibid.   | 2436 | Kunāla Jātaka ( No. 536 ).                                      |
| 2421 | Ibid.   | 2437 | Ibid.   |
| 2422 | Ibid.   | 2438 | Ibid.   |
| 2423 | Ibid.   | 2439 | Jarudapāna Jātaka ( No. 256 ).                                  |
| 2424 | Ibid.   | 2440 | Supāraka Jātaka ( No. 463 ).                                    |
| 2425 | Ibid. ; Sudhābhajana ( No. 535 ).                                 | 2441 | Rawlinson — Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 487.                         |
| 2426 | Viśwantara Jātaka ( No. 547 ).                                    |      |   |



dotus "there is abundance of gold in India partly brought down by the rivers and partly seized in the manner I have described."<sup>2442</sup> The last words refer to his famous story of the gold-digging ants which is repeated by subsequent writers like Pliny, Ælian, Chrysostom and even by more trustworthy writers like Megasthenes and Nearchos. The real origin of the theory of ant-gold was first explained by Dr. Wilson who pointed out that the Sanskrit name for small fragments of alluvial gold (gold dust) was *paipalaka* (= ant-gold) in reference to their resemblance to ants in size and form. The Greeks accepted a too literal meaning of the word and supposed that gold was dug out by ants. When Herodotus says that the ants were of the size of dogs and fiercely attacked anyone carrying off the gold, it has been plausively suggested that the account was derived from people who had been chased by the formidable dogs kept by the native miners.<sup>2443</sup> The further addition of the myth referred to by Pliny who says that "the horns of the gold-digging ants were preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythral" has been explained by Professor V. Ball, Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Schiern. The explanation may be thus given in Professor Ball's words: "The so-called myth was not cleared up till by chance, information was received as to the customs and habits of the Tibetan gold-miners of the present day. The myrmeces of Herodotus and Megasthenes were Tibetan miners and their dogs. The horns mentioned by Pliny were the gold-miner's pick-axes. I have been informed by an eye-witness, Mr. R. Lydekker that the picks in use in Ladak consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles."<sup>2444</sup> Megasthenes has added the useful information that the country from which gold came was the country of the *Derdae* (in Sanskrit *Darada* or *Darād* = modern Dardisthan in Kashmere).<sup>2445</sup>

It is interesting to note in this connection that from very early times mines appear to have been regarded as state property. According to Gautama all treasure-trove belongs to the king, but an exception in case of the

<sup>2442</sup> McCrindle's Classical Literature, Herodotus.

<sup>2443</sup> McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 44, note 2.

<sup>2444</sup> Prof. V. Ball—A geologist's con-

tribution to the history of Ancient India in the Indian Antiquary, 1884.

<sup>2445</sup> Megasthenes, Fragment 29—Strabo XV. C. 706.

treasure-trove is made when a preist is the finder and some say that anybody who finds it gets one-sixth.<sup>2446</sup>

**Cattle-rearing, pig-culture and poultry-farming** :—Cattle formed an important item of wealth of the ordinary householder even in this period. Oxen were indispensable for agricultural work and apart from sacrificial use milk formed the principal drink of the people besides being the source of supply for curds, whey, butter and ghee. From the Suttanipāta we learn that a Brahmin cultivator Kāśī Bharadwāja by name had five ploughs and the requisite number of oxen in addition to a large herd of cows. In the Dhaniyasutta a cultivator speaks of his wealth in cattle and is proud of his milch cows. The herds of cattle<sup>2447</sup> and goats<sup>2448</sup> were customarily entrusted to a communal neatherd who would bring them back every evening and count them out to the several owners.<sup>2449</sup>

From the Munika<sup>2450</sup> and Śalūka<sup>2451</sup> Jātakas we find that pigs were domesticated and fattened before being eaten up.

The Vartaka Jātaka<sup>2452</sup> refers to a hunter who earned his livelihood by catching quails, fattening them in his house for some time and then selling them to his customers.

**Hunting and fishing**—A large number of people earned their living by hunting birds and beasts. We read of hunters going to the market with cart-loads of flesh to sell.<sup>2453</sup> For capturing deer people used to dig up pits, place snares, fix up stakes and pāṣāṇa-yanta.<sup>2454</sup> After the beaters had done their work deer were hunted either from a māchan on a tree<sup>2455</sup> or from a thatch constructed for the purpose.<sup>2456</sup> We

<sup>2446</sup> Gautamī, X. 25 f.

<sup>2447</sup> Jātaka III. 149.

<sup>2448</sup> Ibid., III. 409.

<sup>2449</sup> A. I. 205 ; M. Dhp. comm. I. 157.

<sup>2450</sup> No. 30.

<sup>2451</sup> No. 286.

<sup>2452</sup> No. 118.

<sup>2453</sup> Māṃsa Jātaka (No. 315).

<sup>2454</sup> Lakṣaṇa Jātaka (No. 11.).

<sup>2455</sup> Kurangamiga Jātaka (No. 21)

<sup>2456</sup> Manoja (No. 397). For catching deer net of leather-made straps made bright with lac were used [Nyagrodhamiga (No. 12) and Suvarṇamiga Jātaka (No. 359)].

read of birds<sup>2457</sup> and peacocks<sup>2458</sup> being caught in traps made of wool<sup>2459</sup> or of the hair of horse's tail<sup>2460</sup> with the help of decoy birds.<sup>2461</sup> Lions were hunted from an 'attaka' (tower or māchan) specially constructed for the purpose.<sup>2462</sup> The method of capturing elephants described in the *śaḍadanta Jātaka*<sup>2463</sup> is substantially the same described by Megasthenes,<sup>2464</sup> the precursor of the modern 'Kheda' system.

Fishing became the main occupation of a section of the population. We read of fish being caught from rivers and tanks in nets<sup>2465</sup> or in a cage-like structure of cane or bamboo-splints called *kumina*.<sup>2466</sup> Of fish a large variety was known. We find mention of:—(1) Rohita (= Bengali Rui<sup>2467</sup>) (2) Pāgusa (= Sanskrit Vāgusa = Bengali Vāyuṣa i.e., Kālā-vāyuṣa)<sup>2468</sup> (3) Pāthina (= Bengali Voyāla)<sup>2469</sup> (4) Śakula (= Bengali Sol)<sup>2470</sup> (5) Sringi (= Bengali singi)<sup>2471</sup> (6) Vāluka (= Bengali Vele ?)<sup>2472</sup> (7) Pavusa (= Bengali Kālāvāyuṣa ?)<sup>2473</sup> (8) Muñja (= Bengali Miragela ?)<sup>2474</sup> (9) Kākina (= Bengali Kānkley ?)<sup>2475</sup> (10) Kṣhuramāla (= a seafish with razor-like nose = sword-fish ?)<sup>2476</sup> (11) Aligargara<sup>2477</sup> (12) Savakra<sup>2478</sup> (13) Kākamatsya<sup>2479</sup> and (14) Śatavakra.<sup>2480</sup> Tortoises<sup>2481</sup> corals<sup>2482</sup> and pearls<sup>2483</sup> are also mentioned.

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| 2457 | Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209).  | 2469 | Chakravāka Jātaka (No. 451); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Mahāunmārga (No. 546). |
| 2458 | Mayūra Jātaka (No. 159).   | 2470 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   |
| 2459 | Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209).  | 2471 | Ibid.  |
| 2460 | Śālikedāra Jātaka (No. 484).   | 2472 | Chakravāka Jātaka (No. 451).   |
| 2461 | Kakkara (No. 209); Mayūra (No. 159); Tittira (No. 317).                                      | 2473 | Ibid.  |
| 2462 | Manoja Jātaka (No. 397).   | 2474 | Ibid.  |
| 2463 | No. 514.   | 2475 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   |
| 2464 | Frag. 36 = Strabo, XV. 1. 41-43, pp. 704-05; Frag. 37 = Arrian-Indica, XIII-XIV.             | 2476 | Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463).   |
| 2465 | Matsya Jātaka (No. 34).  | 2477 | Sudhābhojana Jātaka (No. 535).   |
| 2466 | = Bengali ghopā or ghūṇi—Haritamāta (= Haritamanduka) Jātaka No. 239.                        | 2478 | Ibid.  |
| 2467 | Chakravāka (No. 451); Sudhābhojana (No. 535); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Viśvantara (No. 547). | 2479 | Ibid.  |
| 2468 | Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545).  | 2480 | Ibid.  |
|      |  | 2481 | Mahotkrośa (No. 486); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 14. 5.  |
|      |  | 2482 | Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463).   |
|      |  | 2483 | Anavirati Jātaka (No. 185); Jarudapāna Jātaka (No. 256).   |



**Arboriculture** :—It seems that when a cluster of villages was turned into a city, the intervening space between any two villages was trimmed with spacious parks. We find frequent mention of such parks in the Jātakas. In the Jetavana of Śrāvastī we find arbours (mālaka) of Nāga (= Nāgakeśara), Śāla, and other trees specially planted for the purpose.<sup>2484</sup> A gardener (udyānapāla) was appointed to see that the trees are properly watered with the help of buckets made of leather or wood.<sup>2485</sup> The Sāṅkhyāna Gṛhyasūtra<sup>2486</sup> also lays down rules for the consecration ceremony of a garden.

**Progress in arts and crafts** :—In early times mechanics and craftsmen earned their living by serving the villagers. The Sūtra "Grāmaḥ Śilpiṇi" in Pāṇini<sup>2487</sup> clearly points to such craftsmen attached to the village. Another sūtra mentions such a village carpenter: "Grāmakautābhyāṃ ca takṣaṇa."<sup>2488</sup> But dependence on the village compelled the craftsmen to subsist on the occasional doles and remunerations granted by the villagers according to their whims. To remedy this state of affairs, they had begun in the previous periods to organise themselves into guilds which gave them protection against oppression and helped them in making their economic condition better. When the growth of towns and town-life coupled with the development of domestic and foreign trade led to a greater demand for their products the craftsmen began to free themselves from the tutelage of the agricultural interest by withdrawing to those places where they had better opportunities of pursuing their own occupations, thus leading to the establishment of suburban industrial villages. This separation of the industrial element of the population is a notable feature of the economic life of this period, for, it is at once the effect and the cause of the remarkable growth of industry.

It is curious that the Greek observers should call the Indians backward in the scientific development of the resources of their country. They had, for instance, good mines of gold and silver, yet "The Indians

<sup>2484</sup> Varuṇa Jātaka (No. 71).

<sup>2487</sup> VI. 2. 62.

<sup>2485</sup> Ārāmadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 46).

<sup>2488</sup> V. 4. 95.

<sup>2486</sup> V. 3. 1-5.

inexperienced in the arts of mining and smelting do not even know their own resources but set about the business in too primitive a way.”<sup>2489</sup> They did not pursue accurate knowledge in any line except Medicine; in the case of some arts it was even accounted vicious to carry their study far, the art of war, for instance.<sup>2490</sup> But the construction and contents of the Piprawa Stupa belonging to 450 B. C., discovered on the Nepal frontier prove that among Indian craftsmen of 450 B. C. there were skilled masons, accomplished stone-cutters and dainty jewellers. “The masonry of the stupa is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid; the great sand-stone coffer could not be better made; and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill in the arts of the lapidary and goldsmith.” An examination of the crystal bowl and the steatite vases accompanying it shows that they are all turned on the lathe and we thus learn that the Indian lapidaries were familiar with the use of the lathe<sup>2491</sup> in or about 450 B. C.” Equally evident is the skill of the ancient Indian craftsmen in “shaping, polishing and piercing gems of extreme hardness as well as the extensive use of jewellery of an elaborate kind.”

(1) *Metal industry* : In fact, the metal industry was highly specialised. The word ‘kammāra’ mentioned in the earliest Buddhist literature is as comprehensive as our ‘smith.’ We find mention of weapons, tools and implements, household utensils and ornaments of various kinds. The manufacture of arrows is described in the Mahājanaka Jātaka<sup>2492</sup> and Herodotus<sup>2493</sup> describes the Indian army in the service of the Persian King Xerxes as armed with iron-headed arrows. Sword,<sup>2494</sup> adjustable sword,<sup>2495</sup> spear,<sup>2496</sup> armour,<sup>2497</sup> and iron helmet<sup>2498</sup> are also mentioned.

<sup>2489</sup> Strabo XV. C. 700.

<sup>2490</sup> Strabo XV. C. 701.

<sup>2491</sup> Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II.

<sup>2492</sup> No. 539.

<sup>2493</sup> VII. 65 (= Herodotus translated by Cary. London, 1848. p. 434.

<sup>2494</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23); Mahāśilavajja (No. 51); Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542); Sāṅkhyāyana Grhyasūtra, I. 13. 1.

<sup>2495</sup> Asadīsa Jātaka (No. 181).

<sup>2496</sup> Sūchī Jātaka (No. 387); Pāraskara Grhyasūtra, II. 6. 16.

<sup>2497</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23); Sarabhaṅga (No. 522); Mahāunmārga (No. 546); Āśwālāyana Grhyasūtra III. 12. 1, 3.

<sup>2498</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

A small sword called illi<sup>2499</sup> and a sword of high quality called sikāya-samayā<sup>2500</sup> were also known. Daśārṇaka was famous for the high quality of her swords.<sup>2501</sup>

Among tools and implements we find (1) paraśu (axe),<sup>2502</sup> (2) vāsi (adze),<sup>2503</sup> (3) vāsi paraśu, a combination of the carpenter's adze and axe,<sup>2504</sup> (4) keen-edged saw (Pāli Krakacha),<sup>2505</sup> (5) bill-hook,<sup>2506</sup> (6) hammer,<sup>2507</sup> (7) fishing hook made of iron,<sup>2508</sup> (8) iron goad (Pāli pāchana = Sans. prājana),<sup>2509</sup> (9) crowbar (tomara, khanitra),<sup>2510</sup> (10) spade,<sup>2511</sup> (11) grass-cutter's knife,<sup>2512</sup> (12) auger (nikhādāna),<sup>2513</sup> and (13) siṅghātaka (an instrument having three pointed corners like a singārā, an aquatic nut)<sup>2514</sup>

Among domestic utensils we find (1) iron vessels,<sup>2515</sup> (2) iron jar (kumbhī),<sup>2516</sup> (3) bucket (Pāli udañchani = Sans. udañchana),<sup>2517</sup> (4) colander, a vessel with many holes (Pāli parisāvana karoti),<sup>2518</sup> (5) fork (sandamśa)<sup>2519</sup> and (6) iron rods used in roasting meat.<sup>2520</sup> Razor made of metal,<sup>2521</sup> fine needles with case,<sup>2522</sup> key (Pāli avāpuraṇa =

- 2499 Śoṇa (No. 529); Mahājanaka (No. 539).  
 2500 Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).  
 2501 Daśārṇaka Jātaka (No. 401).  
 2502 Tailapātra Jātaka (No. 96); Dadhi-vāhana (No. 186); Sūchi (No. 387); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 16. 18; III. 15. 21; Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 3; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 28. 14.  
 2503 Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387); śaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514).  
 2504 Dadhi-vāhana Jātaka (No. 186).  
 2505 Śilavannāga Jātaka (No. 72); Asitābhū (No. 234); Kṛṣṇadvai-pāyana (No. 444).  
 2506 Vaka Jātaka (No. 38).  
 2507 Vappupatha (No. 2); Mahāpingala (No. 240); śaḍadanta (No. 514).  
 2508 Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).

- 2509 Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).  
 2510 Durvalakāṣṭha Jātaka (No. 105); śaḍadanta (No. 514).  
 2511 Vappupatha (No. 2); Nanda (No. 39); Mīḍulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Kuddāla (No. 70); śaḍadanta (No. 514).  
 2512 Viśahya Jātaka (No. 340); śaḍadanta (No. 514).  
 2513 śaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514).  
 2514 Ibid.  
 2515 Udaya Jātaka (No. 458).  
 2516 Louhakumvī Jātaka (No. 314).  
 2517 Udañchani Jātaka (No. 106).  
 2518 Kapota Jātaka (No. 42).  
 2519 Karkāṭa Jātaka (No. 267).  
 2520 Śaśa Jātaka (No. 316).  
 2521 Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 3. 27.  
 2522 Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).



Sans. avāvaraṇa)<sup>2523</sup> and seal (lāñchchhana-mudrā)<sup>2524</sup> are also mentioned. Iron nets<sup>2525</sup> iron fetters<sup>2526</sup> (andū) and iron chains for prisoners<sup>2527</sup> were also in use.

Copper implements<sup>2528</sup> are frequently mentioned. Copper razor<sup>2529</sup> and copper vessels<sup>2530</sup> including tāṭa used in religious worship being the most important.

Among silver wares we find (1) silver vessels<sup>2531</sup> (2) silver pot for milching cows<sup>2532</sup> (3) hare made of silver<sup>2533</sup> and (4) silver boxes for keeping ornaments.<sup>2534</sup>

Of alloys kāmśa (bell-metal) is mentioned in Pāṇini.<sup>2535</sup> The Jātakas refer to (1) bell-metal vessels<sup>2536</sup> including (2) kāmśya sthālī<sup>2537</sup>; and kāsara, (a plate of bell-metal struck with a stick serving the purpose of a bell).<sup>2538</sup> Among articles made of brass (pittala) we find (1) brazen vessels,<sup>2539</sup> (2) bowls<sup>2540</sup> and (3) hare made of brass.<sup>2541</sup>

The goldsmith is frequently mentioned and among articles of gold we find (1) gold vessels<sup>2542</sup> (2) gold pitcher<sup>2543</sup> (3) gold sthālī<sup>2544</sup> (4) gold drinking pot<sup>2545</sup> (5) gold vase (bhr̥ṅgara)<sup>2546</sup> (6) gold plate

2523	Śṛgāla Jātaka (No. 148).	2537	Khulladhanurgraha Jātaka (No. 374); Sūchī Jātaka (No. 387).
2524	Kalingavodhi Jātaka (No. 479).	2538	Lośaka Jātaka (No. 41).
2525	Abhyantara Jātaka (No. 281); Bhadraśāla Jātaka (No. 464).	2539	Khadirāṅgāra Jātaka (No. 40); Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 5. 33; III. 4. 18; III. 4. 20; III. 4. 23; III. 5. 12; Pāraskara, III. 4. 9.
2526	Vandhanāgāra Jātaka (No. 201).	2540	Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 11.
2527	Ibid.	2541	Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).
2528	Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 19;	2542	Kāka (No. 140); Dyūta (No. 240); Udaya (No. 458); Mātanga (No. 497); Mahāśwāroha (No. 302); Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 1. Sāñkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24. 3.
2529	Sāñkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 28. 7; I. 28. 14; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 1. 11, 19, 21; Āśwālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 17. 9, 10, 16.	2543	Mātanga Jātaka (No. 497).
2530	Kouseyī Jātaka (No. 130).	2544	Kupḍaka-Kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).
2531	Udaya Jātaka (No. 458).	2545	Mahāśilavaja Jātaka (No. 51).
2532	Viśvantara Jātaka (No. 547).	2546	Ibid.; Mahāśwāroha (No. 302).
2533	Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).		
2534	Vātamiga Jātaka (No. 14).		
2535	IV. 3. 168; IV. 5. 183.		
2536	Mahāsvapna Jātaka (No. 77).		

(suvanna tattaka)<sup>2547</sup> (7) gold plate worth one lac pieces<sup>2548</sup> (8) golden basket (changotaka)<sup>2549</sup> (9) gold spoon<sup>2550</sup> (10) an instrument of gold used in giving honey and clarified butter to the new-born child in the Medhājanana (production of intelligence) ceremony<sup>2551</sup> (11) a small pair of pincers made of gold<sup>2552</sup> (12) golden stick<sup>2553</sup> (13) golden dice-board<sup>2554</sup> (14) golden dice<sup>2555</sup> (15) golden sandals<sup>2556</sup> (16) golden trappings for horses<sup>2557</sup> (17) golden cage<sup>2558</sup> (18) golden cup for a bird<sup>2559</sup> (19) golden bedstead<sup>2560</sup> (20) golden seat (Pāli kochchha)<sup>2561</sup> (21) golden image of a girl<sup>2562</sup> (22) hare made of gold<sup>2563</sup> (23) elephant made of gold<sup>2564</sup> and (24) gold box for keeping scents.<sup>2565</sup>

The jeweller (maṇikāra)<sup>2566</sup> and ornaments<sup>2567</sup> specially those made of gold<sup>2568</sup> are frequently mentioned. Among the ornaments of this period we find (1) kirita, tiara for the head.<sup>2569</sup> A seth's daughter Viśakhā by name obtained from her father as part of her marriage-dowry a peacock-shaped tiara for her head. It was so nicely set up with pearls and gems of different colours that it looked as a real peacock and used to emit a cackling noise with the movement of wind; (2) mukhaphulla.<sup>2570</sup> According to the commentator it is "nalātante tilakamālābharaṇam"

<sup>2547</sup> Sujātā Jātaka (No. 304).

<sup>2548</sup> Serivapij Jātaka (No. 3); Bhojājāneya (No. 23); Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Asadrśa (No. 181); Kāmanīta (No. 228); Manoja (No. 397); Tūṣa (No. 338).

<sup>2549</sup> Ruru Jātaka (No. 482).

<sup>2550</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 15. 1; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24. 3.

<sup>2551</sup> Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 4.

<sup>2552</sup> Makhādeva Jātaka (No. 9).

<sup>2553</sup> Mātanga Jātaka (No. 497).

<sup>2554</sup> Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).

<sup>2555</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2556</sup> Manoja (No. 397); Mātanga (No. 497).

<sup>2557</sup> Khandahāla Jātaka (No. 542).

<sup>2558</sup> Satyapikila (No. 73); Kālavāhu (No. 329); Bāveru (No. 339).

<sup>2559</sup> Kālavāhu Jātaka (No. 329).

<sup>2560</sup> Dyūta Jātaka (No. 260).

<sup>2561</sup> Mahāhamsa Jātaka (No. 534).

<sup>2562</sup> Ananusochaniya Jātaka (No. 328); Kuśa (No. 531).

<sup>2563</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

<sup>2564</sup> Mūkapanga Jātaka (No. 538).

<sup>2565</sup> Mahāśīlavaj Jātaka (No. 51).

<sup>2566</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536); Vidurapandita (No. 545).

<sup>2567</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 6. 1, 2; I. 8. 10; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 8. 9; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 4. 7; II. 5. 9; III. 1. 24.

<sup>2568</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 5. 33; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 22. 17; III. 1. 7.

<sup>2569</sup> Kimchhando Jātaka (No. 511).

<sup>2570</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

(something like our *sīn̥thi*); (3) *kundala*, earring;<sup>2571</sup> (4) earring set with stones;<sup>2572</sup> (5) earring set with jewels;<sup>2573</sup> (6) necklace;<sup>2574</sup> (7) necklace of *niṣka* coins;<sup>2575</sup> (8) golden necklace worth 1000 pieces;<sup>2576</sup> (9) *ratnadāma*, a necklace of gems;<sup>2577</sup> (10) *ratnamaya graiveya*, an ornament for the neck set with jewels;<sup>2578</sup> (11) *kṣhauma*.<sup>2579</sup> According to the commentator it is an ornament for the neck; (12) wreath of gold;<sup>2580</sup> (13) *unnata*, nose-ring (?);<sup>2581</sup> (14) ring for the finger of the hand;<sup>2582</sup> (15) *keyūra*,<sup>2583</sup> bracelet on the upper arm; (16) *angada*,<sup>2584</sup> bracelet on the upper arm; (17) golden comb;<sup>2585</sup> (18) *valaya*,<sup>2586</sup> bracelet on the lower arm; (19) golden bangles set with pearls and precious stones;<sup>2587</sup> (20) *mekhala*,<sup>2588</sup> an ornament for the loins; (21) *gingamaka*,<sup>2589</sup> an ornament for the waist; (22) *pālipāda*,<sup>2590</sup> an ornament for the feet; (23) golden *kinkinī*,<sup>2591</sup> a girdle of small golden bells worn on the legs and (24) *udghaṭṭana*,<sup>2592</sup> an ornament for the legs.

(2) *Weaving*—In the *Mūkapanga Jātaka*<sup>2593</sup> there is a nice simile from weaving. Life has been compared to a piece of cloth, Death to the weaver and Night to the woof. The weaver will place the warp first and as he places the woof, there will be less of the cloth to be woven; so also

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| <p><sup>2571</sup> <i>Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka</i> (No. 542);<br/> <sup>2572</sup> <i>Bhūridatta</i> (No. 543); <i>Āśvālāyana</i><br/> <i>Gr̥hyasūtra</i>, III. 8. 1; <i>Pāraskara</i><br/> <i>Gr̥hyasūtra</i>, II. 6. 26; <i>Sāṅkhyāyana</i><br/> <i>Gr̥hyasūtra</i>, III. 1. 18.</p> | <p><sup>2582</sup> <i>Kaṣṭhahārī</i> (No. 7); <i>Pūrpapātri</i><br/> (No. 53); <i>Parantapa</i> No. 416).</p>   |
| <p><sup>2573</sup> <i>Nānāchhando Jātaka</i> (No. 289);<br/> <i>Rohantamga</i> (No. 501).</p>   | <p><sup>2583</sup> <i>Mātrpoṣaka Jātaka</i> (No. 454);<br/> <i>Chāmpeya</i> (No. 506); <i>Kimchhando</i><br/> (No. 511); <i>Khaṇḍahāla</i> (No. 542);<br/> <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547).</p> |
| <p><sup>2574</sup> <i>Maṇikundala Jātaka</i> (No. 351);<br/> <i>Chāmpeya</i> (No. 506); <i>Nalinikā</i><br/> (No. 526); <i>Unmādayantī</i> (No. 527).</p>   | <p><sup>2584</sup> <i>Kimchhando Jātaka</i> (No. 511);<br/> <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2575</sup> <i>Nalinikā Jātaka</i> (No. 526).</p>  | <p><sup>2585</sup> <i>Alamvuṣā Jātaka</i> (No. 523).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2576</sup> <i>Kuśa Jātaka</i> (No. 531).</p>  | <p><sup>2586</sup> <i>Mahājanaka Jātaka</i> (No. 539).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2577</sup> <i>Kurudharma Jātaka</i> (No. 276).</p>  | <p><sup>2587</sup> <i>Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka</i> (No. 542).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2578</sup> <i>Apappaka Jātaka</i> (No. 1).</p>  | <p><sup>2588</sup> <i>Nalinikā</i> (No. 526); <i>Kuśa</i> (No. 531);<br/> <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547); cf. <i>mekhala</i><br/> in <i>Viśwantara</i> (No. 547).</p>                          |
| <p><sup>2579</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p>  | <p><sup>2589</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2580</sup> <i>Ibid.</i></p>   | <p><sup>2590</sup> <i>Ibid.</i></p>   |
| <p><sup>2581</sup> <i>Khadira Gr̥hyasūtra</i>, III. 1. 43.</p>  | <p><sup>2591</sup> <i>Rohantamga Jātaka</i> (No. 501).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2582</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p>  | <p><sup>2592</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p>  |
| <p><sup>2583</sup> <i>Viśwantara Jātaka</i> (No. 547).</p>  | <p><sup>2593</sup> No. 538.</p>   |



with the passing of successive nights there will be less number of years for a man to live. Besides the wool of sheep and goat silk, linen and cotton formed the materials for weaving.

(a) *Cotton*: From the Chullavagga we learn that the Buddha allowed the bhikkhus "to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers and cotton produced from potaki-grass."<sup>2594</sup> In the Paṭimokkha we find weavers being employed to weave cloth for monks. The Jātakas also refer to chīvara (dress of the Buddhist monks) being made by the monks themselves.<sup>2595</sup> The chīvara consisted of (1) antaravāsaka, a small piece of cloth like a 'lungi'<sup>2596</sup> (2) uttarāsanga which covers up the whole body from the shoulders<sup>2597</sup> and (3) saṃghāti, an upper garment which covers up the whole body from the shoulders and used only when stirring out of the monastery.<sup>2598</sup> A kāyavandhana, belt made of cloth, was also used by all the monks.<sup>2599</sup> The ordinary lay householder used to wear (1) nivāsana, undergarment<sup>2600</sup> or sātaka<sup>2601</sup> and (2) prāvaraṇa, upper garment.<sup>2602</sup> Uṣṇiṣa, headdress<sup>2603</sup> and kañchuka, an overcoat resembling very much a dressing gown<sup>2604</sup> were worn by the nobility. We also find mention of (1) coverlet<sup>2605</sup> (2) coverlet for elephant inlaid with gold<sup>2606</sup> (3) coverlet for royal chariot with designs on it<sup>2607</sup> (4) multi-coloured coverlet for beddings<sup>2608</sup> (5) bathing cloth<sup>2609</sup> (6) cloth embroidered with gold<sup>2610</sup> (7) costly gandha-kāṣāya

<sup>2594</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 2. 6; See also IV. 44 and VIII. 1. 3.

<sup>2595</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4); Vaka (No. 38); Varuṇa (No. 71); Khullavodhi (No. 443).

<sup>2596</sup> Saṃpiddhi Jātaka (No. 167).

<sup>2597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2598</sup> Asadrśa Jātaka (No. 181).

<sup>2599</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhi (No. 4); Matsya (No. 75).

<sup>2600</sup> Guṇa Jātaka (No. 197).

<sup>2601</sup> Mṛdulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Mangala (No. 87); Alinachitta (No. 156);

Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).

<sup>2602</sup> Guṇa Jātaka (No. 197).

<sup>2603</sup> Śoṇananda (No. 532); Bhūridatta (No. 543).

<sup>2604</sup> Asadrśa (No. 181); Śarabhanga (No. 522).

<sup>2605</sup> Apannaka Jātaka (No. 1).

<sup>2606</sup> Śivi (No. 499); Śoṇa (No. 529).

<sup>2607</sup> Chitrasambhūta Jātaka (No. 498).

<sup>2608</sup> Tailapātra Jātaka (No. 96).

<sup>2609</sup> Matsya Jātaka (No. 75).

<sup>2610</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

sātaka, cloth dyed red and probably perfumed with aguru or musk<sup>2611</sup> (8) puspapāṭa, cloth with flowers embroidered on it<sup>2612</sup> (9) handkerchief (eholaka)<sup>2613</sup> (10) canopy decorated with golden stars<sup>2614</sup> (11) screen<sup>2615</sup> (12) purse (sthavikā)<sup>2616</sup> (13) kanthā<sup>2617</sup> (14) seats made of cloth<sup>2618</sup> (15) pādapuñchhanam<sup>2619</sup> (16) and pillows.<sup>2620</sup> The Chullavagga<sup>2621</sup> refers to bolsters which were made for the use of high officials and were of five kinds according as they were stuffed with wool, cotton-cloth, bark, grass or leaves. The floor-cloth, mosquito-curtain and sundry other articles are also mentioned.<sup>2622</sup>

We read of an extensive field near Benares where cotton was cultivated<sup>2623</sup> and of a weavers' ward in the city itself.<sup>2624</sup> The Therīgāthā and the Jātakas<sup>2625</sup> frequently refer to the cotton-cloth of Benares some of which were so fine in texture that they fetched a thousand pieces<sup>2626</sup> or even a lac.<sup>2627</sup> The Mahāvagga<sup>2628</sup> and the Śivi Jātakas<sup>2629</sup> refer to the high quality of the cloth of the Śivi country.

(b) *Linen*: Cloth woven with the thread of śaṇa was called śāṇi. Screens were usually made of such linen cloth and were also called śāṇi.<sup>2630</sup>

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| <sup>2611</sup> Kāśāya Jātaka (No. 221).  | (No. 543) refers to <i>masūra</i> , a seat covered with 'gadi'.  |
| <sup>2612</sup> Chandrakinnara (No. 485).   |  |
| <sup>2613</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 19; V. 9. 4.   | <sup>2623</sup> Tupdila Jātaka (No. 388).  |
| <sup>2614</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23); Tailapātra (No. 96); Kuṇḍa-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).  | <sup>2624</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).   |
| <sup>2615</sup> Kuṇḍa-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).  | <sup>2625</sup> Ibid.; Kāmavilāpa Jātaka (No. 297); Mahāśwāroha (No. 302); Madiyaka (No. 390); Viśa (No. 438); Mahāvāpij (No. 493); Śoṇananda (No. 532); Mahāhamṣa (No. 534); Khapdahāla (No. 542); Mahāunmārga (No. 546); Viśwantara (No. 547). |
| <sup>2616</sup> Susīma Jātaka (No. 163); Kuṇḍa-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254); Triśakuna (No. 521).  | <sup>2626</sup> Gupa Jātaka (No. 157); Therīgāthā Ch. XIV.   |
| <sup>2617</sup> Pāṇinī, II. 4. 20; IV. 2. 142-43.   | <sup>2627</sup> Mahāśwāroha Jātaka (No. 302); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).   |
| <sup>2618</sup> Gupa Jātaka (No. 157).  | <sup>2628</sup> VIII. 1.   |
| <sup>2619</sup> Ibid.   | <sup>2629</sup> No. 499.   |
| <sup>2620</sup> Mahāślavaj Jātaka (No. 5).  | <sup>2630</sup> Asadṛṣa Jātaka (No. 181); Kuṇḍa-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).   |
| <sup>2621</sup> VI. 27. 1.  |  |
| <sup>2622</sup> Ibid., VI. 20. 1; V. 14. 1; V. 9. 4; VI. 19; Mahāvagga (V. 10. 3) refers to cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals (compare fn. No. 2607). The Bhūridatta Jātaka |  |

We also read of (1) cloth-made bags for storing up grains (bhastā)<sup>2631</sup> (2) cloth-made bags for keeping shoes<sup>2632</sup> (3) tents (mandapa)<sup>2633</sup> and (4) kṣauma, linen cloth.<sup>2634</sup> Kautumvara was famous for her cloth<sup>2635</sup> specially linen (kṣauma).<sup>2636</sup> The Sudhābhojana Jātaka<sup>2637</sup> refers to coarse cloth made from the threads spun out of the roots of trees.

(c) *Silk*: Silk-fabrics are mentioned in the Majjhimaśīla and in the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha (on Eḍakalomavagga). The word kosiyaṃissakam (meaning mixed with silk) shows that mixed silk was also known. Kauṣeya cloths are also referred to in Pāṇini.<sup>2638</sup> The Dadhivāhana Jātaka<sup>2639</sup> refers to screens made of silk cloth; while from the Therīgāthā we learn that the sick fabrics of Benares were highly prized in those days.

(d) *Woolens*: The Mahāvagga<sup>2640</sup> refers to coverlets with long fleece, counterpanes of many colours, woolen rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpet inwrought with gold or with silk, large woolen carpets, rich elephant housings, horse-rugs or carriage rugs, large cushions and crimson cushions. In the Jātakas we read not only of blankets<sup>2641</sup> but also of carpets,<sup>2642</sup> traps made of wool for catching birds,<sup>2643</sup> screen made of raktakamvala<sup>2644</sup> and shoes made of cloth woven with threads of different colours and decorated with gold.<sup>2645</sup>

In the Mahāvāṇij Jātaka<sup>2646</sup> we have “kuṭṭiyo paṭiyāni cha.” The commentator says “kuṭṭiyo hatthattharādayo paṭiyāni unṇāmaya pachchattharaṇāni setakamvalāni pi vadanti”; so that woolen shawl or some such

<sup>2631</sup> Illha Jātaka (No. 78).

<sup>2632</sup> Mitrāmitra Jātaka (No. 197).

<sup>2633</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4);  
Devadharmā (No. 6); Kulāyaka  
(No. 31); Maṣaka (No. 44); Śaśa  
(No. 316); Uddālaka (No. 487).

<sup>2634</sup> Alinacchitta Jātaka (No. 156).

<sup>2635</sup> Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539);  
Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2636</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2637</sup> No. 535.

<sup>2638</sup> IV. 3. 32.

<sup>2639</sup> No. 186.

<sup>2640</sup> V. 10. 3.

<sup>2641</sup> Śilavannāga Jātaka (No. 72);  
Mahāvāṇij (No. 493).

<sup>2642</sup> Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254).  
Pāṇini (IV. 2. 12) also refers to  
carpets.

<sup>2643</sup> Kakkara Jātaka (No. 209).

<sup>2644</sup> Bhojājāneya Jātaka (No. 23).

<sup>2645</sup> Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543).

<sup>2646</sup> No. 493.



costly woolen is meant. In the same Jātaka we also have "Uddiyāne cha kamvala." The commentator says "Uddiyā nama kamvalā atthi." If uddiya be taken as derived from Sanskrit udra then uddiya will mean made from the fine hair of udbiṛāla. Blankets made of goat's hair called gonako are mentioned not only in the Majjhimaśīla but also in the Jātakas.<sup>2647</sup> The Śālikedāra Jātaka<sup>2648</sup> refers to net made of the hair of horse's tail for catching birds. Gāndhāra was famous for her blankets<sup>2649</sup> and some of them were so fine as to fetch a lac pieces.<sup>2650</sup>

(3) *Carpentry* : In addition to the ordinary carpenter who made wooden articles for domestic use, there were skilled workmen employed in building carts (Māmsa Jātaka No. 315) and chariots<sup>2651</sup> and in building dugouts,<sup>2652</sup> boats<sup>2653</sup> and ships.<sup>2654</sup> Among wooden articles for domestic use we find (1) paryanka, high class bedstead<sup>2655</sup> (2) phalakāsana,<sup>2656</sup> bench (3) śayyāphalaka,<sup>2657</sup> ordinary wooden bedstead (4) stool<sup>2658</sup> (5) benches long enough to accommodate three persons<sup>2659</sup> (6) āsandi<sup>2660</sup> (7) āsandaka (rectangular chair)<sup>2661</sup> (8) sofa (sattango)<sup>2662</sup> (9) sofa with arms to it<sup>2663</sup> (10) arm-chair<sup>2664</sup> (11) state chair (bhadda-piṭham)<sup>2665</sup> (12) cushioned chair

<sup>2647</sup> Alamvuṣā (No. 523); Mahājanaka (No. 539).

<sup>2648</sup> No. 484.

<sup>2649</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>2650</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2651</sup> Spandana (No. 475); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 8. 18; I. 10. 1-3; III. 14; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 7. 32; Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, II. 6. 1, 9; III. 12. 2; I. 8. 1.

<sup>2652</sup> Chāmpēya Jātaka (No. 506).

<sup>2653</sup> Samudra-vāṇij Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>2654</sup> Śankha Jātaka (No. 442).

<sup>2655</sup> Devadharma Jātaka (No. 7); Surāpāna (No. 81); Vairi (No. 103); Pañchaguru (No. 132); Grāmanī-chanda (No. 257); Manikundala (No. 351); Śivi (No. 499); Alam-

vuṣā (No. 523); cf. Pallanka in Chullavagga, VI. 141; VI. 8. 1. etc.; Mahāvagga, V. 10. 3.

<sup>2656</sup> Kulāyaka Jātaka (No. 31); Markata (No. 173); Kunāla (No. 536).

<sup>2657</sup> Mīdulaḥṣana Jātaka (No. 66); Indrasamānagotra (No. 161).

<sup>2658</sup> Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Illisa (No. 78).

<sup>2659</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 13. 2.

<sup>2660</sup> Ibid., VI. 14. 1; VI. 8. 1 etc.; Mahāvagga, V. 10. 3.

<sup>2661</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 2. 4; cf. Chullavagga, VI. 20. 2 and VIII. 1. 3.

<sup>2662</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2663</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2664</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2665</sup> Ibid.

(vithikā)<sup>2666</sup> (13) chair raised on a pedestal (elaka-padaka pīṭham)<sup>2667</sup> (14) chair with many legs (āmalakavaṇṭika-pīṭham)<sup>2668</sup> (15) cane-bottomed chair (koccham)<sup>2669</sup> (16) straw-bottomed chair<sup>2670</sup> (16) litter or sedan-chair<sup>2671</sup> (17) board to lean against (apassena-phalakam)<sup>2672</sup> (18) wooden plank (phalaka) used as a slate for writing<sup>2673</sup> (19) dice-board (akkhasas phalakam)<sup>2674</sup> (20) wooden pestle and mortar<sup>2675</sup> (21) wooden spoon<sup>2676</sup> (22) juhu, spoon<sup>2677</sup> (23) upabhṛt, a spoon<sup>2678</sup> (24) darvi, a spoon<sup>2679</sup> (25) sruk, a laddle<sup>2680</sup> (26) sruva, small sacrificial ladle<sup>2681</sup> (27) dhruva, big sacrificial ladle<sup>2682</sup> (28) agnihotrahavani, the ladle with which Agnihotra oblations were offered<sup>2683</sup> (29) a wooden vessel called pātri<sup>2684</sup> (30) prasitraharaṇa (the vessel into which the portion of the sacrificial food belonging to Brahman is put)<sup>2685</sup> (31) wooden dish<sup>2686</sup> (32) wooden sacrificial cup<sup>2687</sup> (33) droṇa or droṇi, a vessel for measurement<sup>2688</sup> (34) kariṣa, a vessel for measurement<sup>2689</sup> (35) amnaṇa, a vessel for measurement<sup>2690</sup> (36) wooden tubs used in watering plants<sup>2691</sup> (37) wooden yoke for carrying loads (Pāli kajo or kacho)<sup>2692</sup> and (38) wooden boxes

<sup>2666</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2667</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2668</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2669</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2670</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2671</sup> Vātaṃga Jātaka (No. 14); Mahāvagga, V. 10. 2.

<sup>2672</sup> Mahāvagga, I. 25. 15, 16.

<sup>2673</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125).

<sup>2674</sup> Alamvuṣā Jātaka (No. 523). The commentator however takes akkha in the sense of gold: akkhassa ti suvaṇṇaphalakam viya visālā. Compare ākarṣa-phalaka in Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 10. 17 which according to the commentator Rāma-kṛṣṇa was made of udumvara wood.

<sup>2675</sup> Nānāchhanda Jātaka (No. 289).

<sup>2676</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125); Viśvataṛa (No. 547); cf. Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, II. 1. 2, 9.

<sup>2677</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 2.

<sup>2678</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 3.

<sup>2679</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2. 2; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 14. 14, 20, 24.

<sup>2680</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 9. 14.

<sup>2681</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 6; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 8. 24; I. 9. 4; I. 9. 13; I. 9. 14; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 1. 3.

<sup>2682</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 5.

<sup>2683</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 4.

<sup>2684</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 10.

<sup>2685</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 8.

<sup>2686</sup> Ibid., II. 1. 4.

<sup>2687</sup> Ibid., IV. 3. 11.

<sup>2688</sup> Āmra Jātaka (No. 124); Vikarṇaka (No. 232).

<sup>2689</sup> Vartaka Jātaka (No. 35).

<sup>2690</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2691</sup> Ārāmadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 46).

<sup>2692</sup> Mṛdnlakṣaṇa Jātaka (No. 66).



(petikā).<sup>2693</sup> The manufacture of wooden sandals is described in the Mahājanaka Jātaka<sup>2694</sup>; while razor of udumvara wood,<sup>2695</sup> sphya (wooden sacrificial sword)<sup>2696</sup> and wooden shields<sup>2697</sup> are also mentioned.

In the construction of houses the carpenter obtained the full scope for his skill. The Alinachitta Jātaka<sup>2698</sup> tells us how the carpenters of a village near Benares would go up the river in a vessel and enter the forest, where they would shape beams and planks for house-building and put together the framework of one storey or two storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the main post onwards; these they then brought down to the river bank and put them all aboard; then rowing down-stream again they would build houses to order, as it was required of them. The palace of the King of Benares mentioned in the Kuśanāli<sup>2699</sup> and Bhadrāsāla Jātakas<sup>2700</sup> was a one-pillared one, probably like the famous one-pillared Durbar Hall of Fatepur Sikri, the pillar being made of wood.

(4) *Grass and reed work*—The worker in grass and reeds (nalakāra) made a large variety of articles for daily use among which the more important were (1) mat (kiliñjaka),<sup>2701</sup> (2) basket (pachchhi = kalopi),<sup>2702</sup>

<sup>2693</sup> Mangala (No. 87); Mahāmayūra (No. 491). Box made of sandal-wood is mentioned in Matsya Jātaka (No. 75).

<sup>2694</sup> No. 539.

<sup>2695</sup> Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, II. 3. 17, 23, 25.

<sup>2696</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 4. On the different implements mentioned in the Gṛhyasūtras, compare Prof. Max Muller's paper in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vol. IX. pp. VII. seqq.; LXXVIII seqq. On the Prāsitraharana compare Hillebrandt, Neu-und Vollmond-

sopfer, pp. 119 (with note 6), 120 and 131.

<sup>2697</sup> Svetaketu Jātaka (No. 377).

<sup>2698</sup> No. 156.

<sup>2699</sup> No. 121.

<sup>2700</sup> No. 465.

<sup>2701</sup> Sukhavihāri (No. 10); Grāmañi-chaṇḍa (No. 257); Javanahamṣa (No. 476); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I. 5. 2.

<sup>2702</sup> Nanda (No. 39); Mṛdulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Illisa (No. 78); Surāpāna (No. 81); Soṇa (No. 529); Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, II. 14. 11, 20; III. 2. 4; Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 3. 15; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2. 6.



(3) small basket (changotaka)<sup>2703</sup> (4) winnowing basket (Pāli kullaka)<sup>2704</sup> (5) cage-like structure made of cane or bamboo-splints for catching fish (kumina)<sup>2705</sup> (6) cage-like structure made of straw for birds to live in<sup>2706</sup> (7) sandals made of grass<sup>2707</sup> (8) hand-punkha<sup>2708</sup> (9) umbrella made of leaves<sup>2709</sup> (10) string loop (śikya)<sup>2710</sup> (11) a ring made of straw over which coolies keep the load they are to carry on their heads (chumvataka)<sup>2711</sup> (12) broom-stick<sup>2712</sup> (13) rope<sup>2713</sup> (14) flute or pipe (veṇudanda).<sup>2714</sup> Receptacles were also made out of the leaves of trees (patrapuṭa).<sup>2715</sup>

(5) *Pottery* : This industry was sufficiently developed to admit of localisation in particular places. The Jātakas<sup>2716</sup> repeatedly mention village of potters. According to the Uvāsagadasao<sup>2717</sup> there were 500 potter-shops outside the town of Polāsapura ; apparently these formed a suburban village of potters. Among the vessels of earthenware<sup>2718</sup> we find (1) pitcher<sup>2719</sup> (2) jug<sup>2720</sup> (3) jar<sup>2721</sup> (4) a large water-jar<sup>2722</sup> (5) drinking pot<sup>2723</sup> (6) liquor-cup<sup>2724</sup> (7) sthālī<sup>2725</sup> (8) pot for keep-

- 2703 Illisa Jātaka (78) ; Parṇika (No 102) ; Mahāhamṣa (No. 534).  
 2704 Vardhakiśūkara (No. 283) ; Nānā-chhando (No. 289) ; Mahājanaka (No. 539) ; Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 5. 7.  
 2705 Haritamāta Jātaka (No. 238).  
 2706 Kapota (No. 42) ; Lola (No. 274).  
 2707 Daśaratha Jātaka (No. 461).  
 2708 Durvalakāṣṭha Jātaka (No. 105) ; Śūkara (No. 153).  
 2709 Tilamuṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 252) ; Brahmadaṭṭa (No. 323).  
 2710 Ekarāja Jātaka (No. 303).  
 2711 Sammodamāna Jātaka (No. 33).  
 2712 Triparyasta Jātaka (No. 16).  
 2713 Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, III. 1. 52.  
 2714 Chandrakinnara Jātaka (No. 48).

- 2715 Puṭadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 280) ; Matsyadāna (No. 288).  
 2716 III. 376 ; III. 508.  
 2717 VII. 181. 184.  
 2718 Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, IV. 7. 10.  
 2719 Vātamiṅga (No. 14) : Mahāsvapna (No. 77) ; Indrasamānagotra (No. 161) ; Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 13. 5 ; II. 17. 2 ; III. 4. 3 ; IV. 1. 3 ; IV. 3. 4 ; IV. 17. 4 ; Khadira Gṛhyasūtra, I. 3. 5.  
 2720 Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, II. 1. 2, 9.  
 2721 Ibid., IV. 6. 4.  
 2722 Mṛdūlakṣapa Jātaka (No. 66).  
 2723 Ibid.  
 2724 Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).  
 2725 Mahilāmukha (No. 26) ; Khulla-dhanurgraha (No. 374).

ing curds<sup>2726</sup> and (9) vat (chāṭi).<sup>2727</sup> The skill of the potter was exhibited in the preparation of earthen pots with female figures engraved on them and of earthen dolls for children mentioned in the Kuśa Jātaka.<sup>2728</sup> In the Viśwantara Jātaka<sup>2729</sup> we are told that some of these dolls were representations of the images of elephants, horses, bulls, śyāma deer, monkey (kadalimiga), hare, owl, peacock, swan and birds like heron etc.

(b) *Leather-work*: The leather was tanned and softened by the application of kṣāra<sup>2730</sup> and the leather-worker manufactured oil flasks and "shoes of white leather very elaborately worked and high-heeled so as to make the wearer seem taller."<sup>2731</sup> The shoes of the Vrātyas are described in the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra<sup>2732</sup> as black and pointed (karṇinyan). The Gṛhyasūtras<sup>2733</sup> and the Jātakas<sup>2734</sup> refer to shoes some of which had only one sole<sup>2735</sup> and were so stylish as to fetch 100, 500 and even 1000 pieces.<sup>2736</sup> Vasiṣṭha in his Dharmasūtras<sup>2737</sup> refers to objects made of leather among which the Jātakas mention (1) leather undergarment (chamma nivasana)<sup>2738</sup> (2) leather upper garment (chamma pravarana)<sup>2739</sup> (3) leather coverlet of chariot<sup>2740</sup> (4) leather-made fittings of chariots<sup>2741</sup> (5) leather by which the arm is protected against the bowstring<sup>2742</sup> (6) leather-belt for elephant<sup>2743</sup> (7) leather shoe for elephant<sup>2744</sup> (8) leather umbrella for elephant<sup>2745</sup> (9) leather strap to

<sup>2726</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 2. 9.

<sup>2727</sup> Pañchāudha Jātaka (No. 55);  
Kumbha (No. 512).

<sup>2728</sup> No. 531.

<sup>2729</sup> No. 547.

<sup>2730</sup> In the Mahānirmārga Jātaka (No. 546) we have "Phalasatam cham-mam." According to the commen-tator phalasam=phalasatap pamā-pam vahu kṣāre khādāpetvā mṛdu-bhāvamupanītam.

<sup>2731</sup> Nearchos, Fragments 9 and 10—  
Arrian—Indica, 16.

<sup>2732</sup> XXII. 4.

<sup>2733</sup> Āśvālāyana, III. 8. 1; Khadira,  
II. 5. 16; III. 1. 25; III. 1. 41;

Pāraskara, II. 6. 30, 32; Sāṅkhyā-  
yana, III. 1. 10, 18.

<sup>2734</sup> Upānaha Jātaka (No. 231).

<sup>2735</sup> Tilamusthi Jātaka (No. 256);  
Brahmadatta (No. 323).

<sup>2736</sup> Sankha Jātaka (No. 42).

<sup>2737</sup> III. 49—63.

<sup>2738</sup> Brahmadatta Jātaka (No. 323).

<sup>2739</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2740</sup> Kukkura Jātaka (No. 22).

<sup>2741</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2742</sup> Āśvālāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 12. 11.

<sup>2743</sup> śaḍadanta Jātaka (No. 514).

<sup>2744</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2745</sup> Ibid.



bind a dog<sup>2746</sup> (10) net of leather-straps to catch deer<sup>2747</sup> (11) leather case for keeping sword<sup>2748</sup> (12) leather bag for keeping wealth (chamma pasivvaka)<sup>2749</sup> and (13) leather made vessel for sprinkling water on plants.<sup>2750</sup>

(7) *Wine-distilling*: The preparation of wine was an important industry as drinking was quite common in those days. The Surāpāna Jātaka<sup>2751</sup> gives us the mythological origin of surā and vāruṇi wines and dilates on the evils of drinking. In the Ayoggha Jātaka<sup>2752</sup> the uncertainty of human life has been compared to the uncertainty of the cloth of the drunkard which is liable to be exchanged at any moment for a glass of liquor. From the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra<sup>2753</sup> we find that on occasions of marriage four or eight women who are not widows drink wine and dance four times. The Jātakas<sup>2754</sup> also show that drinking formed an important part of all festive ceremonies. From the Surāpāna Jātaka<sup>2755</sup> we learn that there was a Drink Festival probably like the Greek Dionysia and the Roman Bacchanalia. In the Gangāmāla Jātaka<sup>2756</sup> we read of a day-labourer and his lady-love who decided to join a festival and to regale themselves with strong drink, garland and perfumes. We read of liquor-shops (āpāna),<sup>2757</sup> liquor cups<sup>2758</sup> and of dried fish taken along with liquor.<sup>2759</sup> We find different varieties of wine like (1) surā<sup>2760</sup> (2) meraya (= Sans. maireya)<sup>2761</sup> (3) vāruṇi<sup>2762</sup> (4) kapotikā<sup>2763</sup> (5) kilāla<sup>2764</sup>

- <sup>2746</sup> Sunaka Jātaka (No. 242); ṣaḍadanta (No. 514).  
<sup>2747</sup> Suvarṇamṛga Jātaka (No. 359).  
<sup>2748</sup> Asadīśa Jātaka (No. 181); Gaṇḍatinduka (No. 519).  
<sup>2749</sup> Vīhachchhatra Jātaka (No. 336); cf. ṣaḍadanta (No. 514).  
<sup>2750</sup> Arāmadūṣaka Jātaka (No. 46).  
<sup>2751</sup> No. 81.  
<sup>2752</sup> No. 510.  
<sup>2753</sup> I. 11. 5.  
<sup>2754</sup> Tupdila Jātaka (No. 388); Pāda-kuśalamāpava (No. 432).  
<sup>2755</sup> No. 81.

- <sup>2756</sup> No. 421.  
<sup>2757</sup> Anavirati Jātaka (No. 65).  
<sup>2758</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).  
<sup>2759</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>2760</sup> Illisa (No. 78); Surāpāna (No. 81); Pāda-kuśalamāpava (No. 432); Tupdila (No. 388); Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 11. 5.  
<sup>2761</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2762</sup> Vāruṇi (No. 47); Surāpāna (No. 81).  
<sup>2763</sup> Surāpāna Jātaka (No. 81).  
<sup>2764</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra, III. 3. 7; See Zimmer—Altindisches Leben, p. 281.



(6) wine prepared out of the juice of sugarcane.<sup>2765</sup> (7) and wine prepared out of grapes for which Kapisa was famous in the days of Pāṇini.<sup>2766</sup> Kapotikā wine was a rarity though the ordinary variety of wine seems to have been cheap for a glass was worth only one māṣa.<sup>2767</sup> Liquor of superior strength<sup>2768</sup> was however dear as appears from the Vārūṇi Jātaka<sup>2769</sup> where we are told of a wine-distiller who used to sell strong drink in exchange for gold and silver pieces.

(8) *Stone-work* : In the Vabhru Jātaka<sup>2770</sup> we find a worker in stone (pāṣāṇa-kuttaka) busy with his work of cutting stone in a ruined village and also hollowing out a cavity in a white crystal as a cage for a mouse. A crystal cave for a mouse is also mentioned in the Satyampkila Jātaka.<sup>2771</sup> Crystal palaces mentioned in the Jātakas<sup>2772</sup> some of which were seven-storeyed<sup>2773</sup> are probably exaggerations. In the Śūkara Jātaka<sup>2774</sup> we are told that the Gandhakutira monastery was furnished with a marble staircase (maṇisopāṇa). Stone images of hares<sup>2775</sup> and elephants<sup>2776</sup> were also manufactured. We have already referred to the crystal bowl and steatite vases discovered within the Piprawa stupa belonging to 450 B. C., an examination of which shows that they were turned on the lathe the use of which accounts for their high polish and beauty.

(9) *Ivory work* : The worker in ivory (dantakāra) produced various articles including ornaments like bangles.<sup>2777</sup> According to Nearchos "the Indians wear earrings of ivory, those that are very well off."<sup>2778</sup> Benares was one of the principal centres of this industry which was developed enough to be localised in the ivory workers' ward (dantakāravithi).<sup>2779</sup>

<sup>2765</sup> Samudravāṇij Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>2766</sup> IV. 2. 99.

<sup>2767</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).

<sup>2768</sup> Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, III. 4. 9.

<sup>2769</sup> No. 47.

<sup>2770</sup> No. 137.

<sup>2771</sup> No. 73.

<sup>2772</sup> Mitravinda Jātaka (No. 367); Āsankā (No. 380); Chaturdvāra (No. 439); Nemi (No. 541).

<sup>2773</sup> Lośaka Jātaka (No. 41).

<sup>2774</sup> No. 153.

<sup>2775</sup> Ghaṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

<sup>2776</sup> Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

<sup>2777</sup> Kāśāya Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2778</sup> Fragments 9 and 10 = Arrian—Indica, 16.

<sup>2779</sup> Śilavannāga Jātaka (No. 72); Kāśāya (No. 221).

(10) *Work in bone, horn, conch-shell and coral*: Vasiṣṭha in his Dharmasūtras<sup>2780</sup> refers to objects made of bone and conch shells. The Jātakas<sup>2781</sup> frequently refer to the manufacture of bows from the horn of the sheep on account of its flexibility just as Homer's Illiad refers to the Greek custom of manufacturing box from the horn of the ibex. The mention in the Ghāṭa Jātaka<sup>2782</sup> of images of hares made of coral and of jewels (māṇikyā) is corroborated by the find of ornaments made of coral and precious stones in the Piprawa stupa belonging to 450 B. C.

(11) *Salt industry*: The preparation of salt by the evaporation of saline water is clearly referred to in the Bhūridatta Jātaka.<sup>2783</sup> The manufacture of salt by the loṇakāra<sup>2784</sup> is also mentioned in the Kauśāmvī Jātaka.

(12) *Sugar*: Extraction of juice from sugarcane and preparation of molasses by thickening the juice by heating it on fire is described in the Mahāsvapna Jātaka.<sup>2785</sup> In this connection the following remark of Megasthenes will be found interesting: "Stones are dug up of the colour of frankincense, more sweet than figs or honey."<sup>2786</sup> These are probably sugarcandy which he took to be a kind of crystal.

(13) *Dyeing*: We find monks dyeing their chivara<sup>2787</sup> and people using cloth dyed (1) in red colour (kāṣāya)<sup>2788</sup> (2) with safflower (kusumbha)<sup>2789</sup> (3) in yellow with karṇikāra flower,<sup>2790</sup> (4) in blue with kaṇṭakuraṇḍa<sup>2791</sup> and (5) in golden colour.<sup>2792</sup>

In those days cloth was stiffened with <sup>2793</sup> starch and then polished with conch (śankha). The Khullanārada Jātaka <sup>2794</sup> also refers to an

<sup>2780</sup> III. 49—63.

<sup>2781</sup> Asaḍḍa (No. 181); Śarabhaṅga (No. 522); Khandahāla (No. 542).

<sup>2782</sup> No. 454.

<sup>2783</sup> No. 543.

<sup>2784</sup> No. 428.

<sup>2785</sup> No. 77.

<sup>2786</sup> Fragment 10 = Strabo XV. C. 703.

<sup>2787</sup> Varuṇa (No. 71); Guṇa (No. 157).

<sup>2788</sup> Godhā (Nos. 138 and 325).

<sup>2789</sup> Puṣparakta Jātaka (No. 147).

<sup>2790</sup> Guṇa (No. 157); Dardara (No. 172).

<sup>2791</sup> Dardara Jātaka (No. 172).

<sup>2792</sup> Kāṣāya Jātaka (No. 221).

<sup>2793</sup> Vaka Jātaka (No. 38).

<sup>2794</sup> No. 477.



upper garment which was thus stiffened (ghaṭṭita) with starch. The Puspārakṭa Jātaka <sup>2795</sup> refers to the custom of wearing cloth after it has been curled into a thousand folds.

**Architecture** :—In the pratyutpannavastu of the Jātakas <sup>2796</sup> we find frequent mention of kuti-kāra-sīkṣāpada (instruction to monks about the construction of houses) which is found in the Sūtravibhaṅga of the Vinaya Piṭaka. In the Grāmaṇīchanda Jātaka <sup>2797</sup> we read of vāstu-vidyācārya who could find out the defects of building sites seven cubits underground and on whose advice the princes selected the sites for their palaces. The mason (iṭṭhaka-vaddhaki = Sans. iṣṭaka-vardhaki) <sup>2798</sup> was known and the Jātakas <sup>2799</sup> frequently refer to seven-storeyed houses (Sattabhūmaka-pāsāda). In India the use to which these seven-storeyed buildings were put was entirely private and had nothing to do with any worship of the stars like the seven-storeyed Ziggurats of Chaldæa. The Jātakas also refer to a two-storeyed palace <sup>2800</sup> and to a one-pillared palace. <sup>2801</sup> A vivid description of an unfinished palace as preserved in the Kukku Jātaka <sup>2802</sup> corroborates the evidence of the Kuśānālī <sup>2803</sup> and Bhadrāsāla Jātakas <sup>2804</sup> regarding the general use of wooden pillars in the construction of a house though the use of iron pillars was not altogether unknown. <sup>2805</sup> The Jātakas describe various other types of buildings, among which we notice (1) thatched houses for the ordinary people <sup>2806</sup>; (2) Dharmasāla in which seats were provided and drinking water kept stored up in jars <sup>2807</sup>; (3) Āsana-sāla, resting place for travellers <sup>2808</sup>; (4) Samsthāgāra (town-

<sup>2795</sup> No. 147.

<sup>2796</sup> Maṇikanṭha (No. 253); Brahmādatta (No. 323); Asthisena (No. 403).

<sup>2797</sup> No. 257.

<sup>2798</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2799</sup> Khadirāṅgāra (No. 40); Illisa (No. 78); Mātanga (No. 497); śaḍadanta (No. 514); Viśwantara (No. 547).

<sup>2800</sup> Komāyaputra Jātaka (No. 299).

<sup>2801</sup> Kuśānālī Jātaka (No. 121); Bhadrāsāla (No. 465).

<sup>2802</sup> No. 396.

<sup>2803</sup> No. 121.

<sup>2804</sup> No. 465.

<sup>2805</sup> Ayogīha Jātaka (No. 510).

<sup>2806</sup> Āyāchitabhakṭa Jātaka (No. 17); Śakuna (No. 36); Asātanātra (No. 61); Mīḍulakṣaṇa (No. 66); Kuddāla (No. 70); Madhyama Nikāya, Sūtra 81.

<sup>2807</sup> Kulāyaka Jātaka (No. 31).

<sup>2808</sup> Abhyantara Jātaka (No. 281).



hall)<sup>2809</sup>; (5) Chaitya built on the relic of Bodhisattva as kapirāja; <sup>2810</sup> (6) kṛiḍāsālā which was constructed after the ground was levelled down and properly measured with a tape.<sup>2811</sup> A portion of this building was reserved for the reception of guests, a portion for the poor and helpless, a portion for the delivery of poor and helpless women who were carrying and a portion for the merchants to store up their wares. The building was decorated with paintings inside and beautified by the excavation of a tank near by and the construction of an adjoining garden in which fruit and flower trees were planted; and (7) a privy (vachchhaṭṭhāna) with doors in which a lamp was kept burning the whole night.<sup>2812</sup>

The details of buildings are found in abundance in the canonical texts of the Buddhists. Buddha enjoined on his devotees the supervision of building construction as one of the duties of the order.<sup>2813</sup> We read even of a care-taker of houses known as āvāsika.<sup>2814</sup> The Bhikkhus were thus told by the Blessed One with respect to buildings: "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—vihāra, ardhayoga, prāsāda, harmya and gūhā."<sup>2815</sup> Vihāra is the well-known Buddhist monastery, originally implying the halls where the monks met. Ardhayoga literally means half-joining and according to Buddhaghosa<sup>2816</sup> refers to suvarṇa-vangagrha which Professors Oldenburg and Rhys Davids have rendered as 'gold-coloured Bengal house'. Was it the much familiar Bengal house with gold-coloured straw-covering or thatch? It is called half-joining, for, both the halves of the roof are joined together at the ridge on the top of the roofing, looking like parted hair. Prāsāda is a residential storeyed building; harmya is a more pompous type of storeyed house. Gūhā literally means cave and would refer to under-

<sup>2809</sup> Mahāmangala Jātaka (No. 453);  
Bhadraśāla (No. 465).

<sup>2810</sup> Mahākapi (No. 407).

<sup>2811</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2812</sup> Triparyasta Jātaka (No. 16).

<sup>2813</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 17. 1.

<sup>2814</sup> Bīsa Jātaka (No. 488).

<sup>2815</sup> Vinaya texts: Mahāvagga, I. 30. 4.  
Chullavagga, VI. 1. 2.

<sup>2816</sup> Buddhaghosa's commentary on  
Mahāvagga I 30. 4 runs thus:  
Aḍḍayoga ti suvaṇṇa-vangageham.  
Pāsādo ti dīghapāsādo. Hammi-  
yān ti upari ākāsatale patitṭhitaku-  
ṭṭāro pāsādo yeva. Gūhā ti  
itṭhakagūhā silāgūhā dārugūhā  
paṃsugūhā.

ground buildings. One of the Jātakas<sup>2817</sup> actually contains an elaborate description of an underground palace and such have been the rock-cut temples, as in the famous Ajantā caves.

One should carefully select the building site so that it might be "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible to all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm."<sup>2818</sup>

After the selection of the site houses, at least of the richer classes, were extensively built, for, we are told that "an upāsaka (devotee) has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, an one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a well, a well-house, a yantragṛha (which is supposed by Buhler to be 'a bathing place for hot sitting baths'), a yantragṛha room, a lotus pond and a pavilion."<sup>2819</sup> Other houses comprised "dwelling rooms and retiring rooms and store-rooms and service-halls and halls with fire-places in them, and store-house, and closets, and cloisters and halls for exercise, and wells and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms and halls attached to the bath rooms and ponds and open-roofed sheds (maṇḍapas)".<sup>2820</sup> The extensiveness of the buildings can be imagined from the length of time devoted to getting a house completely built. We are told that "with reference to the work of a small vihāra, it may be given in charge (of an overseer) as a navakarma (new work) for a period of five or six years, that on an addayoga for a period of seven or eight or twelve years".<sup>2821</sup> That the long periods were not idled away will be clear from the detail of houses gathered mainly from the Vinaya texts.<sup>2822</sup>

The whole compound is enclosed with ramparts (prākāra) of three kinds, namely, brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences which are again surrounded with bamboo fences, thorn fences and ditches.<sup>2823</sup>

<sup>2817</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2818</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 4. 8.

<sup>2819</sup> Mahāvagga, III. 5. 9 ; also III. 5. 6.

<sup>2820</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 4. 10.

<sup>2821</sup> Ibid., VI. 17. 1.

<sup>2822</sup> Ibid., VI. 5.

<sup>2823</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 3. 7. 10.



Gateways are built with rooms and ornamental screen-work over them ;<sup>2824</sup> and gates are made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes.<sup>2825</sup>

Five kinds of roofing are mentioned—brick-roofing, stone-roofing, cement roofing, straw-roofing and roofing of leaves.<sup>2826</sup> The roof is first covered with skins and plastered within and without ; then follow white-wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath-work and creeper-work.<sup>2827</sup> The wooden roof of the underground palace described in the Mahāunmārga Jātaka<sup>2828</sup> was covered with ulloka mattikā and painted white. Ulloka was an under-cloth used in the making of 'gadi' ; so it appears that the wooden roof was covered with cloth plastered with mud over which white-wash was applied.

The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a whitewash, in which sometimes black or red was mixed. From the parallel passage in Mahāvagga (I. 25. 15) and Chullavagga (VIII. 3. 1) it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors. It appears, however, that with a view to removing the dampness<sup>2829</sup> gravel was spread over the floor.<sup>2830</sup>

The doors are furnished with "door-posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed into the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a

<sup>2824</sup> Ibid., VI. 4. 10 ; 3. 1 ; 'tosapa' of which excellent work in stone have been found at the Sānchi and Bharhut Topes.

<sup>2825</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 3. 10.

<sup>2826</sup> Ibid., VI. 3. 10 ; Compare also VI. 3. 8 ; 3. 3 etc.

<sup>2827</sup> Ibid., V. 11. 6 ; the rendering of the term 'ogumpheti' which also

occurs in the Mahāvagga, V. 11. by 'skins' seems doubtful and unsuitable. Buddhaghosa in his note at the latter place says 'agum phiyantīti bhitti dandakādisu, vethetvā bandhāti.'

<sup>2828</sup> No. 546.

<sup>2829</sup> Rhys Davids and Oldenburg, note on Chullavagga, VI. 20. 2.

<sup>2830</sup> Compare Chullavagga, V. 14. 5.



string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose."<sup>2831</sup>

The windows are stated to be of three kinds according as they are made with railings, lattices or slips of wood.<sup>2832</sup> The shutters are adjustable and can be closed or opened whenever required.<sup>2833</sup>

There were stairs of three kinds viz., brick stairs, stone stairs and wooden stairs; and they were furnished with ālambana-bāhā or balustrades.<sup>2834</sup> The Gandhakūṭira monastery was adorned by a marble stair case.<sup>2835</sup> A detailed description of flights of stairs is given in the Mahāsudassana Sutta: "Each of these had a thambhā, evidently posts or banisters; sūciyo, apparently cross-bars let into these banisters; and unhisam, either a headline running along the top of the banisters or a figure-head at the lower end of such headline."<sup>2836</sup>

In the Vinaya Texts<sup>2837</sup> we find described another sort of building—the hot-air baths. "They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone with stone stairs upto it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber, and a hot-room and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire-place in the middle of the hot-room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers."

In the Digha Nikāya<sup>2838</sup> there is a description of another sort of bath, an open-air bathing tank with flights of steps leading to it faced entirely of stone, and ornamented both with flowers and carvings.<sup>2839</sup>

<sup>2831</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 3. 8; also 2. 1 and 17. 1.

<sup>2832</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 2. 2.

<sup>2833</sup> Mahāvagga, I. 25. 18; Chullavagga, VIII. 2. 2.

<sup>2834</sup> Chullavagga, VI. 11. 6.

<sup>2835</sup> Sūkara Jātaka (No. 153).

<sup>2836</sup> Mahāsudassana Sutta, I. 59. See also Rhys Davids—Buddhist Suttas, p. 262; Compare Chullavagga, VI. 3. 8.

<sup>2837</sup> III. pp. 110, 297.

<sup>2838</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist Suttas, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>2839</sup> Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas, p. 76 refers to several ancient baths still to be seen at Anurādhapura in a fair state of preservation inspite of the lapse of more than two thousand years that have elapsed since they were first constructed.

The *Gṛhyasūtras*<sup>2840</sup> have also preserved many rules and rites on house-building. The building site we are told must be (1) even ground<sup>2841</sup> (2) inclined towards the south-west<sup>2842</sup> or a place from where the water flows off to the north-west<sup>2843</sup> or to the north<sup>2844</sup> (3) non-saline soil of undisputed property<sup>2845</sup> (4) covered with grass, herbs and trees<sup>2846</sup> (5) having no plants with thorns and milky juice<sup>2847</sup> (6) immune from destruction (by inundation etc.)<sup>2848</sup> (7) square in size<sup>2849</sup> or an oblong quadrangle in size<sup>2850</sup> or should have the form of a brick<sup>2851</sup> or of a round island<sup>2852</sup> and (8) there should be natural holes in the ground on all directions.<sup>2853</sup> The building-site is also to be examined in the following ways: "He should dig a pit knee-deep and fill it again with the same earth (which he has taken out of it). If (the earth) reaches out (of the pit, the ground is) excellent; if it is level, (it is) of middle quality; if it does not fill (the pit it is) to be rejected. After sunset he should fill (the pit) with water and leave it so through the night. If (in the morning) there is water in it (the ground is) excellent if it is moist, (it is) of middle quality; if it is dry, (it is) to be rejected".<sup>2854</sup> The arrangement not only of the posts but also of doors<sup>2855</sup> is carefully described. One should not, we are told, build a house with its door to the west.<sup>2856</sup> Let him construct a back-door so that it does not face the (chief) house-door; so that the householder or rather his valuable objects etc., which are in the house cannot be seen by passers-by.<sup>2857</sup>

<sup>2840</sup> Sāṅkhyāyana, III. 2-3; Āśvālāyana, II. 7-9; Pāraskara, III. 4. 1-4; 10-14, 18; Khadira, IV. 2. 6-15; Govila, IV. 7; Hiraṇyakeśin, I. 27-28; Āpastamva, 17.

<sup>2841</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 7.

<sup>2842</sup> Āpastamva, 17. 1.

<sup>2843</sup> Khadira, IV. 2. 7.

<sup>2844</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 3.

<sup>2845</sup> Āśvālāyana, II. 7. 2; Khadira, IV. 2. 6.

<sup>2846</sup> Āśvālāyana, II. 7. 3-4; Khadira, IV. 2. 6, 9-11; Govila, IV. 7. 2.

<sup>2847</sup> Āśvālāyana, II. 7. 5-6; Khadira, IV. 2. 8; Govila, IV. 7. 4.

<sup>2848</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 2.

<sup>2849</sup> Āśvālāyana, II. 8. 9.

<sup>2850</sup> Ibid., II. 8. 10.

<sup>2851</sup> Khadira, IV. 2. 12; Govila, IV. 7. 12.

<sup>2852</sup> Govila, IV. 7. 13.

<sup>2853</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 14; Khadira, IV. 2. 13.

<sup>2854</sup> Āśvālāyana *Gṛhyasūtra*, II. 8. 2-5 = S. B. E. Vol. XXIX. p. 212.

<sup>2855</sup> Khadira *Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 2. 14-15; Govila *Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 7. 15-21.

<sup>2856</sup> Govila *Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 7. 18.

<sup>2857</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 19-21. See also Oldenburg's notes on this passage in S. B. E., Vol. XXX. p. 121.



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<sup>2842</sup> Āpastamva, 17. 1.  
<sup>2843</sup> Khadira, IV. 2. 7.  
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<sup>2855</sup> Khadira Gr̥hyasūtra, IV. 2. 14-15; Govila Gr̥hyasūtra, IV. 7. 15-21.  
<sup>2856</sup> Govila Gr̥hyasūtra, IV. 7. 18.  
<sup>2857</sup> Ibid., IV. 7. 19-21. See also Oldenburg's notes on this passage in S. B. E., Vol. XXX. p. 121.

The temple of the gods is mentioned in Pāṇini.<sup>2858</sup> In the Mānava Gr̥hyasūtra<sup>2859</sup> we are told "Let a daughter be married in a temple." The Sāṅkhyāyana Gr̥hyasūtra<sup>2860</sup> also refers to god's houses which one is enjoined to walk round, keeping right side turned towards them.

Fortunately for us we have some extant remains of the buildings of this period. The Baiṭhak of Jarāsandha and the walls of Rājagṛha the ruins of which have been unearthed, were built according to Cunningham before the 5th century B. C. Many of the Buddhist caves like those of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa were anterior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great (326 B. C.) The Dāgobas or topes were another class of monuments erected in the cemeteries.<sup>2861</sup> "The solid dome erected by the Sākiyas over their share of the ashes must have been about the same height as the dome of St. Paul measured from the roof."<sup>2862</sup> Indeed much light is thrown on the fine masonry work of this period by the discovery in 1898 on the Nepal frontier of the Piprawa stupa about which Mr. V. A. Smith rightly observes "The construction and contents of the stupa offer valuable testimony concerning the state of civilisation in Northern India about 450 B. C. which is quite in accordance with that elicited from early literary sources."<sup>2863</sup>

**Sculpture**—The sculptor (Kundakāra)<sup>2864</sup> worked in wood, gold, coral and stone. The vivid description of the life-like images of many birds and beasts sculptured on the Vaijayanta chariot<sup>2865</sup> may be a poet's imagination but the image of Buddha made of red sandalwood which Ghoṣila, minister of king Udayana of the Vatsa country, a contemporary of Buddha caused to be made existed down to the time of Hiuen Tsang who saw it during his visit to Kauśāmvī.<sup>2866</sup> In the Aśātamantra Jātaka<sup>2867</sup> an ācārya of Taxila is said to have produced out of udumvara wood a life-like image of his own self.

<sup>2858</sup> V. 3. 96—100.

<sup>2859</sup> I. 7. 10.

<sup>2860</sup> IV. 12. 15.

<sup>2861</sup> Vinaya texts, IV. p. 308.

<sup>2862</sup> Rhys Davids.

<sup>2863</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India (new edition), Vol. II. p. 102.

<sup>2864</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>2865</sup> Sudhābhajana Jātaka (No. 535).

<sup>2866</sup> Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western world, Vol. I. p. 235.

<sup>2867</sup> No. 61.



In the Jātakas<sup>2868</sup> we also read of a prince who agreed to marry only when a girl like the image of gold which he caused to be prepared could be found ont. In the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>2869</sup> we are told that the golden image of a princess which was made by prince Kuśa was far superior to the one prepared by the royal sculptor.<sup>2870</sup> A life-like image of a lady and images of elephants made of gold as dolls for children<sup>2871</sup> are also mentioned.

A stone-image of Bodhisattva as elephant<sup>2872</sup> and images of hares made of coral<sup>2873</sup> were also known.

**Painting**—Painting was well-known and the painters were organised into a guild.<sup>2874</sup> The life-like paintings of elephants, horses, chariots and various objects of natural scenery on the walls of the underground palace described in the Mahāunmārga Jātaka<sup>2875</sup> may be a poet's imagination but when we find that Buddha prohibited the use of love-scenes painted in frescoes but permitted the representations of wreaths, creepers, fine ribbon and dragon's teeth in fresco-painting<sup>2876</sup> we may safely expect at least a sub-stratum of truth in the poetic exaggeration. Painted punkhas<sup>2877</sup> and a picture-gallery (chittāgāra) belonging to king Pasenadi of Kośala<sup>2878</sup> are also mentioned.

**The occupations**—The pursuit of agriculture in this period was associated neither with social prestige nor with social stigma. The stricter Brahmin tradition not only in the law-books but also in the Suttanipāṭa, the Majjhima Nikāya and the Jātakas expressly reserves the two callings of agriculture and trade for the vaiśyas and judges them unfit for the brahmins and the kṣatriyas. Thus, the brahmin Esukari of Śrāvastī considers tillage and dairy-farming as not less the property and province of the vaiśya than are bow and arrow, endowed maintenance (by alms)

2868 Ananusochariṇī Jātaka (No. 328);  
Udaya (No. 458).

2869 No. 531.

2870 Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

2871 Mūkapāṇḍu Jātaka (No. 538).

2872 Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka (No. 455).

2873 Ghāṭa Jātaka (No. 454).

2874 Jātaka VI. 427.

2875 No. 546.

2876 Vinaya texts, Vol. II. p. 67; Vol. IV. p. 74.

2877 Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

2878 Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 68.



and sickle and yoke, the property and province of the kṣatriyas, brahmins and working classes respectively.<sup>2879</sup> The Vāsetṭha sutta<sup>2880</sup> reveals the same exclusive spirit as correct. And in the Daśa-brāhmaṇa Jātaka<sup>2881</sup> brahmins who engage themselves in tillage and other callings are declared to have fallen from braminhood. On the other hand in both the Jātakas<sup>2882</sup> and the Suttas<sup>2883</sup> not only are bramins frequently found pursuing tillage but also no reflection is passed upon them for so doing, nay the brahmin farmer at times, is a pious man and a Bodhisattva to boot.<sup>2884</sup> Dr. Fick is disposed to think that the Udicca brahmins<sup>2885</sup> of the north-west inherited a stricter standard.<sup>2886</sup> Nevertheless it is not claimed for the pious ones just mentioned living near Benares and in Magadha that they were Udicca brahmins. As to the kṣatriya clansmen of the tribal republics, they were largely cultivators of the soil. For instance in the Kunāla Jātaka<sup>2887</sup> it was the Śākiyan and Koliyan peasants who began to quarrel over the prior turn to irrigate.

But agriculture though it remained the principal occupation of the mass of the population lost its attraction for the more arduous spirits who began to crowd into cities lured by the finery of city-life, by the chances of greater income by trade or employment and by other facilities. The diversity of occupations that sprang up in the Brāhmaṇa period became more pronounced in this epoch as is evident from the large number of functional groups.

<sup>2879</sup> M. II. 180.

<sup>2880</sup> M. No. 98; S. N. III. 9.

<sup>2881</sup> No. 495.

<sup>2882</sup> Somadatta Jātaka (No. 211); Uraga (No. 354); Suvarṇakarkata (No. 389); Mahākapi (No. 516).

<sup>2883</sup> Brahmin peasant Varadwāja in Suttanipāta.

<sup>2884</sup> Uraga Jātaka (No. 354).

<sup>2885</sup> Satyaṅkila (No. 73); Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Bhimasena (No. 80);

Surāpāna (No. 81); Mangala (No. 87); Parasahasra (No. 99); Tittira (No. 117); Akālarāvi (No. 119); Āmra (No. 124); Lāṅgustha (No. 144); Ekaparṇa (No. 149); Śata-dharmā (No. 179); Śvetaketu (No. 377); Nalinikā (No. 526); Mahāvodhi (No. 528).

<sup>2886</sup> Sociale Gliederang Indien, 138 f.

<sup>2887</sup> No. 536.

Among those who embraced learned professions we find (1) *ācāryas* (teachers)<sup>2888</sup> some of whom taught the children of villagers and were maintained by them;<sup>2889</sup> while others imparted higher instruction in reputed centres of learning like Benares and Taxila in the three Vedas and the conventional eighteen *śilpas*<sup>2890</sup> and were paid either in advance by rich students<sup>2891</sup> or after the completion of studies by poor students who collected their tuition fees by begging<sup>2892</sup> (2) *vejjas* (physicians) some of whom obtained a fee of 16,000 pieces by curing a merchant-prince's wife<sup>2893</sup> (3) *viṣavaidyas* (curers of poisonous bites).<sup>2894</sup> Then there was the army of (4) astrologers<sup>2895</sup> (5) soothsayers<sup>2896</sup> (6) *nimittapīṭhakas* (omen-readers)<sup>2897</sup> (7) *angavidyāpāṭhakas* (those who can read the physical features of men and women)<sup>2898</sup> (8) magicians (*māyakāra*, *māyāvi* or *aindrjālika*)<sup>2899</sup> who came to be condemned by the Buddha as they preyed on the ignorance of the ordinary people. There were also besides the usual *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu* and *udgātṛ* various other classes of priests like those who officiated at the *Ahina* sacrifices,<sup>2900</sup> the *sadasya*,<sup>2901</sup> the *samitri* and the *kāmasādhvaryavah*.<sup>2902</sup>

Besides the cultivator we find others who followed occupations allied to agriculture like the *parṇika* (grower of green vegetables only),<sup>2903</sup> *trṇa-*

<sup>2888</sup> *Varuṇa* (No. 71); *Lānguliṣa* (No. 123); *Upānaha* (No. 231); *Gupṭila* (No. 243); *Tilamuṣṭhi* (No. 252); *Tūṣa* (No. 338); *Tittira* (No. 438).

<sup>2889</sup> *Lośaka* (No. 41); *Takka* (No. 63).

<sup>2890</sup> *Bhīmasena* (No. 80); *Durmedhā* (No. 122); *Asadrśa* (No. 181); etc.

<sup>2891</sup> *Susīma* (No. 163); *Tilamuṣṭhi* (No. 252).

<sup>2892</sup> *Dyūta* (No. 478).

<sup>2893</sup> *Vinaya* I. 272.

<sup>2894</sup> *Viṣavānta* (No. 69); *Bhūridatta* (No. 543).

<sup>2895</sup> *Brahmajāla Sutta*; *Nakṣatra Jātaka* (No. 49).

<sup>2896</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>2897</sup> *Ibid*; *Mangala Jātaka* (No. 87); *Mahāmangala* (No. 453); *Garga* (No. 155).

<sup>2898</sup> *Pañchāudha* (No. 55); *Alīnachitta* (No. 156); *Nanāchhanda* (No. 289).

<sup>2899</sup> *Viduraṇḍita* (No. 545); *Viśwan-tara* (No. 547); cf. *Daśārṇa* (No. 401); *Āmra* (No. 474).

<sup>2900</sup> *Srauta Sūtra*, IV. 1. 6. 7.

<sup>2901</sup> *Indische Studien*, X. 136, 144.

<sup>2902</sup> *Max Mullers' A. S. L.*, pp. 450, 469 seq.

<sup>2903</sup> *Kuddāla Jātaka* (No. 70); *Parṇika* (No. 102).



hāraka (grass cutter),<sup>2904</sup> gopāla (cowherd),<sup>2905</sup> ajapāla (goatherd),<sup>2906</sup> aśvapālaka<sup>2907</sup> or aśvanivandhika<sup>2908</sup> (horsegroom) and hastipālaka (elephantkeeper).<sup>2909</sup>

Of those engaged in the various arts the more important are :—(1) peśākāra (weaver)<sup>2910</sup> (2) karmāra (smith)<sup>2911</sup> (3) maṇikāra (jeweller)<sup>2912</sup> (4) vardhaki (carpenter)<sup>2913</sup> (5) iṣṭaka-var dhaki (mason)<sup>2914</sup> (6) kundakāra (sculptor)<sup>2915</sup> (7) rathakāra (chariot-maker)<sup>2916</sup> (8) kumbhakāra (potter)<sup>2917</sup> (9) carmakāra (tanner and leather-worker)<sup>2918</sup> (10) nalakāra (worker in reeds)<sup>2919</sup> (11) śoundika (wine-distiller)<sup>2920</sup> (12) dantakāra (ivory-worker)<sup>2921</sup> (13) loṇakāra (salt manufacturer)<sup>2922</sup> (14) pāsānakuttaka (stone-cutter)<sup>2923</sup> (15) sṭhapatī (architect)<sup>2924</sup> and (16) citrakāra (painter).<sup>2925</sup>

Among those who followed non-industrial occupations we find : (1) fishermen<sup>2926</sup> (2) poultry-farmer (vartakavyādha or śākunika)<sup>2927</sup> (3) niṣāda (butcher and hunter)<sup>2928</sup> (4) barber,<sup>2929</sup> (5) washerman (nirṇejaka)<sup>2930</sup>

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| <sup>2904</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhī (No. 4); Viśahya (No. 340).                           | <sup>2917</sup> Ibid.  |
| <sup>2905</sup> Surāpāna (No. 81); Ekaṇṇa (No. 149).                                  | <sup>2918</sup> Ibid; Mahāunmārga (No. 546).   |
| <sup>2906</sup> Dhūmakāri (N. 413).   | <sup>2919</sup> Ibid.; Grāmaṇichaṇḍa; (No. 257); Kuśa (No. 531).                                 |
| <sup>2907</sup> Tīrtha (No. 25); Surāpāna (No. 81); Ekaṇṇa (No. 149).                 | <sup>2920</sup> Vārūṇi (No. 47).   |
| <sup>2908</sup> Giridanta (No. 184).  | <sup>2921</sup> Kāṣāya (No. 221); Śīlavannāga (No. 72).  |
| <sup>2909</sup> Mahilāmukha (No. 26); Ekaṇṇa; (No. 149).                              | <sup>2922</sup> Kauśāmvi (No. 428).  |
| <sup>2910</sup> Suttavibhanga.  | <sup>2923</sup> Vabhru (No. 137).  |
| <sup>2911</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).                         | <sup>2924</sup> Kuru (No. 213).  |
| <sup>2912</sup> Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545); Kuśa (No. 536).                       | <sup>2925</sup> Mahāunmārga (No. 546).   |
| <sup>2913</sup> Anilachitta (No. 156); Samudravāṇij (No. 466); Mahāunmārga (No. 546). | <sup>2926</sup> Ubhatobharaṣṭa (No. 139).  |
| <sup>2914</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).   | <sup>2927</sup> Vartaka (No. 118); Tittira (No. 319).  |
| <sup>2915</sup> Ibid.   | <sup>2928</sup> Mayūra (No. 159); Rohantamrga (No. 501); Śyāma (No. 540); Khullahamṣa (No. 533). |
| <sup>2916</sup> Suttavibhanga.  | <sup>2929</sup> Mahākedāra (No. 9); Śīgāla (No. 152).  |
|   | <sup>2930</sup> Ghaṭa (No. 454); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).  |



(6) sweeper (pupph-chhaddak)<sup>2931</sup> (7) tailor (tunnavaṃya)<sup>2932</sup> (8) ferryman (tirthanāvika)<sup>2933</sup> (9) pilot (jalaniyāmaka)<sup>2934</sup> (10) land-pilot (sthala-niyāmaka)<sup>2935</sup> (11) forest-guard (aṭavi-pāla)<sup>2936</sup> (12) gardener (udyāna-pālaka)<sup>2937</sup> (13) garland-maker (mālā-kāra)<sup>2938</sup> (14) confectioner (modaka)<sup>2939</sup> (15) bhūtavaidya (conjurer of evil spirits)<sup>2940</sup> and (16) performer of spells.<sup>2941</sup>

Among those who performed menial work we find (1) cook (pāchaka)<sup>2942</sup> (2) boy-servant<sup>2943</sup> (3) attendant<sup>2944</sup> (4) bath-attendant (snāpaka)<sup>2945</sup> and shampooer (saṃvāhaka) [D. 1. 51].

In addition to these there were others who earned their living by amusing the public. Such were (1) the musician<sup>2946</sup> (2) trumpet-blower (bherivādaka)<sup>2947</sup> (3) blower of conchshells (saṃkhavādaka)<sup>2948</sup> (4) blower of an instrument called mandraka<sup>2949</sup> (5) actor (naṭa)<sup>2950</sup> (5) wrestler (malla)<sup>2951</sup> (7) snake-charmer (ahitundika)<sup>2952</sup> and clown (soviya = souvika).<sup>2953</sup>

- <sup>2931</sup> Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536).  
<sup>2932</sup> Nyagrodha Jātaka (No. 445); Mahāunmārga (No. 543).  
<sup>2933</sup> Avārya Jātaka (No. 376).  
<sup>2934</sup> Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463).  
<sup>2935</sup> Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka (No. 2).  
<sup>2936</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa (No. 495); Vaṇṇupatha (No. 2); Jayaddiṣa (No. 513).  
<sup>2937</sup> Vātamiṃga Jātaka (No. 14); Paṭa-dūṣaka (No. 280).  
<sup>2938</sup> Kulmāṣapiṇḍa Jātaka (No. 414); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).  
<sup>2939</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2940</sup> Kāmanīta Jātaka (No. 228).  
<sup>2941</sup> Brahmajāla Sutta; Vedavbha Jātaka (No. 48); Sarvadaṃṣṭrā (No. 241); Vīrhachchhatra (No. 336); Kharaputra (No. 386); Parantapa (No. 416).

- <sup>2942</sup> Kapota Jātaka (No. 42); Lola (No. 274); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).  
<sup>2943</sup> Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka (No. 2); Bhīmasena (No. 80); Vālodaka (No. 183).  
<sup>2944</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhī Jātaka (No. 4).  
<sup>2945</sup> Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542).  
<sup>2946</sup> Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545); Viśwantara (No. 547).  
<sup>2947</sup> Bherivādaka Jātaka (No. 59).  
<sup>2948</sup> Sankhadharma Jātaka (No. 60).  
<sup>2949</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2950</sup> Uchchhiṣṭa Jātaka (No. 212); Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545); Pāṇini IV. 3. 110, 129.  
<sup>2951</sup> Vālodaka (No. 183); Ghaṭa (No. 454). cf. *Muttika* = *muṣṭika* in Vidurapaṇḍita (No. 545).  
<sup>2952</sup> Śīlamīmāṃsā (No. 86); Ahitundika (No. 365); Chāṃpeya (No. 506).  
<sup>2953</sup> Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545).

We know further that with the growth of the state there arose a class of people who lived by accepting service under the king. Prominent among these were the royal high-priest,<sup>2954</sup> arthadharmanusāsaka,<sup>2955</sup> sarvārthachintaka,<sup>2956</sup> viniśchayāmātya (judge),<sup>2957</sup> arghakāraka (court-valuer),<sup>2958</sup> rajjuka (surveyor)<sup>2959</sup> dṛoṇamāpaka (measurer of corn),<sup>2960</sup> valipratigrāhaka (tax-collector),<sup>2961</sup> nagarapāla,<sup>2962</sup> hirannyaka (cashier or officer of the treasury)<sup>2963</sup> etc.

**Guilds**—We have seen that in an earlier period some of the functional groups came to be organised into guilds; but it was during this period that the guilds came to play a prominent part in the various aspects of social life. The Mūkapangu<sup>2964</sup> and Mahāunmārga Jātakas<sup>2965</sup> refer to the conventional number of eighteen guilds but it is to be regretted that only four of them viz., those of wood-workers, smiths, leather-dressers and painters are specially mentioned.<sup>2966</sup> On the evidence of the Jātakas and the law books of the period we get however the names of the following guilds :—(1) wood-workers<sup>2967</sup> (2) smiths<sup>2968</sup> (3) leather-dressers<sup>2969</sup> (4) painters<sup>2970</sup> (5) garland-makers<sup>2971</sup> (6) caravan-traders<sup>2972</sup> (7) herdsmen<sup>2973</sup> (8) moneylenders<sup>2974</sup> (9) cultivators<sup>2975</sup> (10) traders<sup>2976</sup>

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| <p><sup>2954</sup> Mahāsvapna (No. 77); Susīma (No. 163); Tilamuṭṭhi (No. 252); Śavaka (No. 309); Vandhanamokṣa (No. 120); Andhabhūta (No. 62); Kurudharma (No. 276); Nānāchhanda (No. 289); Rathalatṭhi (No. 332); Hastipāla (No. 509); Susīma (No. 411); Chedi (No. 422); Kimchhanda (No. 511).</p> <p><sup>2955</sup> Tīrtha (No. 25); Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542); Kūṭavāpija (No. 218).</p> <p><sup>2956</sup> Suhanu Jātaka (No. 158).</p> <p><sup>2957</sup> Khaṇḍhāla Jātaka (No. 542); Kūṭavāpija (No. 218).</p> <p><sup>2958</sup> Tāṇḍulanālī (No. 5); Suhanu (No. 158); Nemi (No. 541). Palms of the Brethern, 25, 212.</p> <p><sup>2959</sup> Kurudharma (No. 276).</p> <p><sup>2960</sup> Ibid.</p> | <p><sup>2961</sup> Gaṇḍatindu (No. 520). Garga (No. 155).</p> <p><sup>2962</sup> Kaṇavera Jātaka (No. 318).</p> <p><sup>2963</sup> Śīlamīmāṃsā Jātaka (No. 86).</p> <p><sup>2964</sup> No. 538.</p> <p><sup>2965</sup> No. 545.</p> <p><sup>2966</sup> "Vaddhaki-kammāra-chammakāra-chittakārādīnānāsippa-kusalā."</p> <p><sup>2967</sup> Samudravāpij Jātaka (No. 466); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).</p> <p><sup>2968</sup> Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387); kuśa (No. 531); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).</p> <p><sup>2969</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).</p> <p><sup>2970</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>2971</sup> Kulmāṣapiṇḍa Jātaka (No. 415).</p> <p><sup>2972</sup> Jarudapāna Jātaka (No. 256).</p> <p><sup>2973</sup> Gautama XI. 21.</p> <p><sup>2974</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>2975</sup> Ibid.</p> <p><sup>2976</sup> Ibid.</p> |
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and (11) pilots.<sup>2977</sup> Similarly, the moss-troopers numbering 500 of a little robber village near the hills of Uttara Pañchāla<sup>2978</sup> and the forest-police who escorted the travellers<sup>2979</sup> were organised under a Jeṭṭaka. These craftguilds had three characteristics: (1) an alderman at the head (2) heredity of profession and (3) localisation of industry. The position of the alderman of the guild is indicated in the Sūchi Jātaka<sup>2980</sup> where he is a great favourite of the king (rājavallabha) and in the Uraga jātaka<sup>2981</sup> where he is an important minister of the king (of Kośala). These heads of guilds were called pamukkha (chief or president) and also jeṭṭaka (elder, alderman), distinction between these two words being not apparent. In the Anguttara Nikāya we find the word pūga-gāmaṇika which means leader of a guild. There is one instance of all the guilds having a common chief who was also lord of the treasury of the kingdom of Kāśī.<sup>2982</sup> The centralisation in this case was perhaps due to quarrels between the foremen of the subordinate guilds such as those of Śrāsvastī.<sup>2983</sup>

The necessity for interdependence among people following a particular profession or craft led them to live together in a particular locality. We thus find villages inhabited solely by fowlers,<sup>2984</sup> chandālas,<sup>2985</sup> brahmins,<sup>2986</sup> robbers,<sup>2987</sup> hunters,<sup>2988</sup> carpenters<sup>2989</sup> and smiths.<sup>2990</sup> This localisation of industry was also due, as we have already seen, to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people following the hinasippa's and partly to the nearness of the market for their labour or product of their labour as the case may be. For these very reasons people following a particular profession or craft came to live together in special wards of the city. Thus we find the

- 2977 Supāruga Jātaka (No. 463).  
 2978 Jātaka I. 296; 297; II. 368; IV. 335.  
 2979 Jātaka II. 335.  
 2980 No. 387.  
 2981 No. 154.  
 2982 Nyagrodha Jātaka (No. 445).  
 2983 Sreṇi-bhandana in Uraga (No. 154) and Nakula (No. 165) Jātakas.  
 2984 Khullahaṃsa Jātaka (No. 533).

- 2985 Āmra Jātaka (No. 474); Mātanga (No. 497); Chittasambhūta (No. 498).  
 2986 Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276); Suvarṇa-kakkata (No. 389).  
 2987 Śaktigulma (No. 507).  
 2988 Mayūra Jātaka (No. 159); Rohanta-mṛga (No. 501); Śyāma (No. 540).  
 2989 Alinachitta Jātaka (No. 156); Phandana (No. 475).  
 2990 Sūchi Jātaka (No. 387).



ivory-workers' bazar,<sup>2991</sup> the weavers' ward<sup>2992</sup> and the vaiśya ward<sup>2993</sup> of Benares and florists' quarter<sup>2994</sup> and cooks' quarter<sup>2995</sup> in Śrāvastī. Similarly in the Uvāsagadasao we are told that the kṣatriya quarter of Veśālī was different from that of the brahmins.

Combined with this widespread corporate regulation of industrial life there was a general but by no means cast iron custom for the son to follow the calling of his father. Not only individuals but also families are frequently mentioned in terms of their traditional calling. Thus Śāti the fisherman's son is Śāti, the fisherman; Chunda the smith is called Chunda the smithson.<sup>2996</sup> Āpastamva<sup>2997</sup> says "In successive births men of the lower castes are born in the next higher ones if they have fulfilled their duties." Gautama<sup>2998</sup> says "Men of the several castes and orders who live according to their caste duties enjoy after death the rewards of their work." Āpastamva<sup>2999</sup> says "In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower ones if they neglect their duties. Āpastamva<sup>3000</sup> enjoins the king to punish those who have transgressed the caste laws.<sup>3001</sup> Gautama<sup>3002</sup> authorises the king to punish such transgressors of caste laws.

The functions of these guilds were legislative, judicial and executive. The Vinaya Piṭaka lays down that a thief should not be ordained as a nun without the sanction of the guilds.<sup>3003</sup> From the Vinaya Piṭaka<sup>3004</sup> we further learn that the guilds had the function of arbitrators to settle differences between members and their wives. And Gautama<sup>3005</sup> lays down that they have legislative functions, for, he refers to the validity of the laws and customs established by guilds.

<sup>2991</sup> Śilavannāga Jātaka (No. 72); Kāṣāya (No. 221).  
<sup>2992</sup> Bhīmasena Jātaka (No. 80).  
<sup>2993</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).  
<sup>2994</sup> Padma Jātaka (No. 261).  
<sup>2995</sup> Māmsa Jātaka (No. 315).  
<sup>2996</sup> M. I. 256; D. II. 127 f; Jātaka I. 98, 194, 312; II. 79; cf. niṣādo = luddaputto = luddo; Jātaka III. 330 f.; V. 356—8.

<sup>2997</sup> II. 2—3; 10—11.

<sup>2998</sup> XI. 29.

<sup>2999</sup> II. 11. 11.

<sup>3000</sup> II. 10. 12—16.

<sup>3001</sup> Cf. Āpastamva II. 27. 18.

<sup>3002</sup> XI. 31.

<sup>3003</sup> Rājānaṃ vā saṃghaṃ vā gaṇaṃ vā pūgaṃ vā śreṇiṃ vā anapaloketa-vyā.

<sup>3004</sup> IV. 226.

<sup>3005</sup> XI. 21.

The learner or apprentice (*antevāsika*, lit. the boarder) appears frequently in Buddhist books, one of which indicates the relative position of pupil and master woodwright.<sup>3006</sup> In the *Mahāvagga*<sup>3007</sup> the Buddha says "The *ācārya*, O Bhikkhus, ought to consider the *antevāsika* as a son; the *antevāsika* ought to consider the *ācārya* as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life will progress, advance and reach a high stage in the doctrine and discipline. The *Vinaya Pīṭaka* also gives elaborate rules regarding the duties of the of the pupil towards his teacher and vice versa and also rules regulating the relation between teacher and pupil and the conditions determining its admissibility or cessation. But these relate to the education in the sacred lore, religion and humanities and not to training in the crafts with which we are concerned. The apprentice in the industrial sense indeed appears frequently in the *Jātakas* though no conditions of pupilage are given. Thus in the *Kuśa Jātaka*<sup>3008</sup> a prince apprentices himself to a potter, basket-maker, florist etc., in succession. The senior pupil also acts as assistant master (*prsthācārya*).<sup>3009</sup> We have also instances of fees being paid by apprentices to teachers.<sup>3010</sup> But the conditions of pupilage, though not given in the Buddhist books are roughly foreshadowed by Gautama<sup>3011</sup> who says "The apprentice may forsake his master either of his own motion (in which case he is liable to correction) or under instructions from his kinsmen who consented to his pupilage. In the latter case the deserted master can sue the pupil's guardians for a breach of contract."<sup>3012</sup> But a contract cannot be onesided. Hence *Kātyāyana* who flourished in the third century B. C.<sup>3013</sup> fixed a penalty upon the teacher for employing the apprentice in other work. "He who does not instruct the pupil in the art and causes him to perform other work shall incur the first amercement and the pupil may forsake him and go to another teacher, released from the indenture."<sup>3014</sup>

<sup>3006</sup> Atthasālinī, p. 111; *Jāt.* I. 251; V. 290 f.

<sup>3007</sup> I. 32. 1.

<sup>3008</sup> No. 531.

<sup>3009</sup> *Anabhirati Jātaka* (No. 185); *Mahā-śrutasoma* (No. 537).

<sup>3010</sup> *Suśīma Jātaka* No. 163; *Tilamusthi*

(No. 252); cf. *Dyūta* (No. 478).

<sup>3011</sup> II. 43—44.

<sup>3012</sup> *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, Vol. II. p. 8.

<sup>3013</sup> *Macdonell—History of Sanskrit Literature*.

<sup>3014</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 7.



Another interesting fact to be noticed is that though normally the crafts were organised on a hereditary basis and technical talent descended from father to son and was confined to particular family yet the way was still open to exceptions to that rule. Spiritual ministrations were the work of the brahmins and administration that of the kṣatriyas and brahmins though some share of it was being appropriated by the vaiśyas as in the case of the office of the king's treasurer<sup>3015</sup> with which was coupled the judgeship of the guilds. But these distinctions did not hold good in the economic sphere where all castes seemed to have stood together. In the Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka<sup>3016</sup> brahmins who followed the professions of a physician, charioteer, agriculturist, meat-seller, caravan-guard, hunter, dealer in fruits, ornaments etc., are condemned proving thereby, though indirectly, that some brahmins followed these occupations. In the Bhūridatta Jātaka<sup>3017</sup> we read "If the four-fold caste system was true then why do people other than kṣatriyas conquer kingdoms, why do non-brahmins become proficient in the Vedic mantras, why do non-vaiśyas carry on agriculture, why do not śūdras serve the twice-born castes? Indeed the choice of occupations was quite free. Thus in the Vinaya Piṭaka<sup>3018</sup> we find parents discussing the best profession which their wards might choose without a reference being made to the father's trades. In the Chullavagga<sup>3019</sup> the monks are allowed the use of a loom and of shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus belonging to a loom. We also read of brahmins as physicians,<sup>3020</sup> goatherds,<sup>3021</sup> merchants,<sup>3022</sup> hunters,<sup>3023</sup> snake-charmers,<sup>3024</sup> archers,<sup>3025</sup> robbers,<sup>3026</sup> cart-wrights,<sup>3027</sup> agriculturists,<sup>3028</sup> caravan-guard,<sup>3029</sup> hawkers,<sup>3030</sup> and even low caste trappers.<sup>3031</sup>

- <sup>3015</sup> Nyagrodha Jātaka (No. 445).  
<sup>3016</sup> No. 495.  
<sup>3017</sup> No. 543.  
<sup>3018</sup> I. 77 ; IV. 128.  
<sup>3019</sup> V. 28.  
<sup>3020</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 543).  
<sup>3021</sup> Dhūmakāri Jātaka (No. 413) ; Daśabrāhmaṇa (No. 543).  
<sup>3022</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 543).  
<sup>3023</sup> Chullanandika Jātaka (No. 222) ; Indriya (No. 423).  
<sup>3024</sup> Chāmpeya Jātaka (No. 506).

- <sup>3025</sup> Śarabhanga Jātaka (No. 522).  
<sup>3026</sup> Mahākṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 469).  
<sup>3027</sup> Spandana Jātaka (No. 475).  
<sup>3028</sup> Somadatta Jātaka (No. 211) ; Uraga (No. 354) ; Suvarṇakarkata (No. 389) ; Mahākapi (No. 516) ; cf. the Brahmin peasant Bharadvāja in Sutta Nipāta.  
<sup>3029</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).  
<sup>3030</sup> Garga Jātaka (No. 155).  
<sup>3031</sup> Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (No. 495).



In the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>3032</sup> a prince in his infatuation for a girl apprentices himself *incognito* in succession to the potter, basket-maker, florist and cook to his father-in-law, without a word being said as to his social degradation when these vagaries became known. Similarly a prince takes to trade<sup>3033</sup> while another resigning his kingdom goes to the frontier where he dwells "with a rich merchant's family, working with his own hands."<sup>3034</sup> We also read of a prince who only consents to marry when a princess is found exactly like a golden image which he himself had fashioned and which was far superior to that made by the chief smith employed for the purpose.<sup>3035</sup> The Śankha Jātaka<sup>3036</sup> speaks of a Brahmin who takes to trade to be better able to afford charitable gifts. Brahmins engaged personally in trading without such pretext are also mentioned.<sup>3037</sup> Again we hear of a deer-trapper becoming the protege and then the inseparable friend of a rich young śreṣṭhī without a hint at social barriers;<sup>3038</sup> a weaver looking on his handicraft as a mere makeshift and changing it offhand for that of an archer<sup>3039</sup>; a pious farmer and his son with equally little ado turning to the low trade of rush-weaving<sup>3040</sup>; a young man of good family, but penniless, starting on his career by selling a dead mouse for cat's meat at a farthing, turning his capital and hands to every variety of job and finally buying up a ship's cargo with his signet-ring as security and winning both a high profit in his transactions and the hand of a śreṣṭhī's daughter. "This freedom of initiative and mobility in trade and labour finds further exemplification in the enterprise of a settlement of wood-workers."<sup>3041</sup> Failing to carry out the orders for which prepayment had been made, they were summoned to fulfil the contract. But they instead of 'abiding in their lot' as General Walker the Economist<sup>3042</sup> said of their descendants 'with Oriental stoicism and fatalism' made a mighty ship secretly and emigrated with their families, slipping down the Ganges by night and so out to sea till they reached a fertile island.

<sup>3032</sup> No. 531.

<sup>3033</sup> Jāt. IV. 184.

<sup>3034</sup> Jāt. IV. 169.

<sup>3035</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

<sup>3036</sup> No. 442.

<sup>3037</sup> Jātaka V. 22, 471.

<sup>3038</sup> Jātaka III. 49 ff.

<sup>3039</sup> Jātaka II. 87.

<sup>3040</sup> Jātaka IV. 318.

<sup>3041</sup> Jātaka IV. 159.

<sup>3042</sup> The Wages Question p. 171.

Stories all these, not history ; nevertheless they serve to show that in these times the division of caste was not quite rigid and was no bar to the mobility of labour, both vertical and horizontal."<sup>3043</sup> Indeed social divisions and economic occupations were very far from coinciding. The fact that brahmins claimed credit if born of brahmins on both sides for generations back<sup>3044</sup> betrays the existence of many born from a less pure connubium. In the Kuśa Jātaka<sup>3045</sup> a Brahmin takes to wife the childless chief wife of a king without losing caste thereby. Elsewhere in the Jātakas princes, brahmins, śreṣṭhi's and even low castes are shown forming friendships, sending their sons to the same teachers and even eating together and intermarrying without any social stigma.<sup>3046</sup> Even in Āpastamba sūtra<sup>3047</sup> we find that a Śūdra can become a Brahmin and a Brahmin a Śūdra according to their good or bad deeds. Pāṇini<sup>3048</sup> mentions a celebrated grammarian Chakravarman who was a kṣatriya by birth. All these evidences go to show that the dignity of labour was recognised though there were certain notable exceptions. Thus the Suttavibhanga<sup>3049</sup> mentions certain low castes and certain low crafts. As instances of low castes are mentioned the Veṇa who according to Manu lived by beating drums etc., and whose prototype we find in the Bherivāda<sup>3050</sup> and Sankhadhma<sup>3051</sup> Jātakas ; the Niṣādas (hunters or trappers), Pukkasa<sup>3052</sup> whose occupation is said to be that of throwing away dead flowers<sup>3053</sup> and the Chāṇḍālas who are called the meanest men on earth<sup>3054</sup> who lived apart in their own settlements<sup>3055</sup> by hunting and were sometimes employed for street-sweeping<sup>3056</sup> and policing towns by night.<sup>3057</sup> The

<sup>3043</sup> Rapson—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

<sup>3044</sup> D. I. 93 ; M. II. 156.

<sup>3045</sup> No. 531 ( = Jātaka V. 280).

<sup>3046</sup> Jātaka II. 319 f ; III. 9—10 ; VI. 422 ; Jātaka I. 421, 422.

<sup>3047</sup> II. 5—10.

<sup>3048</sup> VI. 1. 130.

<sup>3049</sup> Vinaya Piṭaka IV. 6—10.

<sup>3050</sup> No. 59.

<sup>3051</sup> No. 60.

<sup>3052</sup> According to Maun the Pukkasa was the son of a chāṇḍāla by a śūdra female. He lived by hunting animals like iguana, porcupine etc., which live in holes.

<sup>3053</sup> Jātaka IV. 205.

<sup>3054</sup> Jātaka IV. 397.

<sup>3055</sup> Āmra, Mātanga and Chittasambhūta Jātakas (Nos. 474, 497 and 498 respectively).

<sup>3056</sup> Jātaka IV. 390.

<sup>3057</sup> Jātaka III. 30.



sight of a *chāṇḍāla* we are further told forebodes evil<sup>3058</sup>; contact with the air that touches his body is pollution<sup>3059</sup>; partaking of his food even without knowledge leads to social ostracism<sup>3060</sup> and even food seen by him is not to be taken.<sup>3061</sup> As examples of low crafts are mentioned those of the *nalakāra* (worker in grass and reeds) *kumbhakāra* (potter), *pesakāra* (weaver), *charmakāra* (leather-worker) and *nīpita* (barber). It should, however, be noted that the social stigma resting on these low trades was due sometimes to their very nature (as in the case of the butcher and the tanner) but chiefly to their association with the aboriginal non-Aryan tribes who followed them. Yet other despised callings were the black arts, explanation of signs, omens, auguries, dreams, foretelling events etc.<sup>3062</sup> *Jātaka* VI. 191 refers to the popular belief that even *Nāgas* do not dance for shame before actors. *Jātaka* II. 82 refers to Brethern who used to get a living by being physicians<sup>3063</sup> or runners, doing errands on foot.....the 21 unlawful callings. It is very interesting to note that there is a substantial agreement between the Pāli works and Sanskrit law books in this connection. Thus *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>3064</sup> condemns actors; also *Baudhāyana*<sup>3065</sup> who adds to them stage-players and teachers of dancing, singing, and acting condemned as *upapātakins*.<sup>3066</sup> It is thus evident that both the Buddhist and Hindu social opinions are practically at one in condemning certain crafts and professions on the basis of an absolute standard, determined on grounds of moral deficiency and in some cases of uncleanness of the processes of operation involved in the craft.

Similar agreement between Hindu and Buddhist books is to be found with regard to the mobility of labour already mentioned. Thus all the

3058 *Mātanga* (No. 497); *Chittasambhūta* (No. 498).

3059 *Nassa chāṇḍāla kālakaṇṇi, adho-vātaṃ yāhi—Śvataketu* (No. 377).

3060 *Mātanga* (No. 497).

3061 *Chittasambhūta* (No. 498).

3062 *Chullavagga* XII. 1. 3; *Mahāśīla* *Tevijja Sutta*, ch. II.

3063 Note the prohibition in the Hindu *smṛti*.

3064 III. 3.

3065 I. 5. 10, 14

3066 II. 1, 2, 13. Compare *Āpastamva* I. 6. 14; *Gautama* XVII. 17; *Vaśiṣṭha* XIV. 2. 3.



Hindu law books authorise the twice-born classes to take to the occupation of an inferior caste in times of distress or on failure to obtain a living through lawful labour.<sup>3067</sup> Gautama in his Dharmasūtra<sup>3068</sup> says that a brahmin can be a farmer and a trader, though trade in a certain specified articles are forbidden by him<sup>3069</sup> as also by Āpastamba,<sup>3070</sup> Baudhāyana<sup>3071</sup> and Vasiṣṭha.<sup>3072</sup> Vasiṣṭha<sup>3073</sup> prohibits brahmins and kṣatriyas from being usurers but Baudhāyana<sup>3074</sup> says that the vaiśya may practise usury. Even the brahmin priest who neglects his duties may at the king's pleasure be forced to do the work of a śūdra.<sup>3075</sup> But though brahmins lived not only as gentlemen farmers but also as humble ploughmen<sup>3076</sup> in this period a brahmin who persists in trade cannot be regarded as a brahmin nor can a priest who lives as an actor or physician.<sup>3077</sup> In fact, there were recognised customs, not approved in one part of the country but admitted as good usage because locally approved in other parts. For, in discussing usage, Baudhāyana<sup>3078</sup> expressly enumerates customs peculiar to the south and certain others peculiar to the north and adds that to follow these practices except where they are considered right usage is to sin but that for each practice the local rule is authoritative, though Gautama denies this.<sup>3079</sup>

**The condition of the labouring classes :** (a) *Free labourers*—There is very little evidence to prove that in India slavery ever became the basis of the economic life of the people. Labourers were mostly free and were paid for their work. The free labourers were called kammakara<sup>3080</sup> and their wages<sup>3081</sup> were settled by higgling and haggling as in the Gangamāla Jātaka<sup>3082</sup> In the Avārya Jātaka<sup>3083</sup> the ferryman is also

<sup>3067</sup> Gautama VII. 6 ; Vasiṣṭha II. 22 ;  
Baudhāyana II. 4. 16.

<sup>3068</sup> X. 5. Compare Vasiṣṭha II. 24 f.

<sup>3069</sup> VII. 9—20.

<sup>3070</sup> I. 7. 20. 12—13.

<sup>3071</sup> II. 1. 2, 27.

<sup>3072</sup> II. 24—32.

<sup>3073</sup> II. 40.

<sup>3074</sup> V. 10. 21.

<sup>3075</sup> Baudhāyana II. 4. 7. 15.

<sup>3076</sup> Vasiṣṭha III. 33.

<sup>3077</sup> Ibid., III. 3.

<sup>3078</sup> I. 1. 17 f.

<sup>3079</sup> Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II.  
p. XLIX.

<sup>3080</sup> Suvarṇamīga Jātaka (No. 359) ;  
Vidurapandita (No. 545).

<sup>3081</sup> Purisattakaram in Maṇikapāṭha  
Jātaka (No. 253),

<sup>3082</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3083</sup> No. 376.

advised to settle the fare by bargaining before taking a man to the other side of the river. The wage-earning class also existed in the days of Pāṇini<sup>3084</sup> who uses the words *vetana* and *vaitanika*. The *Gangamāla Jātaka*<sup>3085</sup> gives us an insight into the frivolous though gay life led by some of the free labourers of those days. We are told that there was a poor labourer who earned his livelihood by fetching water to others. He contracted questionable intimacy with a poor woman who also earned her living by fetching water. Learning that a great festivity is in progress in the city (of Benares) they decided to join it with their total savings of one *māṣaka* each which they spent in regaling themselves with garland, perfumes and wine. Though the wage-earner was no man's chattel yet his lot seems to have been very hard. In the *Serivāṇij Jātaka*<sup>3086</sup> a free woman who earned her living by working as a domestic drudge in the house of a neighbour is described as living from hand to mouth and unable to save anything with which she could buy from the hawker articles for her only dependent, a grand-daughter. In the *Kuṇḍakapūpa Jātaka*<sup>3087</sup> a free labourer of Śrāvastī is described as making his both ends meet with great difficulty and when the other citizens decided to make a corporate gift to the monks he decided to present Buddha with cakes prepared with the fine husk of rice which only he could spare.

In addition to these there were the day-labourers<sup>3088</sup> whose lot was probably harder. He was to a great extent employed in the larger land-holdings<sup>3089</sup> and paid either in board and lodging<sup>3090</sup> or in money wages.<sup>3091</sup> In a list of callings given in the Buddhist books he ranks along with the mere hewers of wood and flower-gatherers and below the slave.<sup>3092</sup> In the *Sutanu Jātaka*<sup>3093</sup> a day-labourer is described as earning one or one-half *māṣaka* a day with which he is reported to have

<sup>3084</sup> IV. 4. 12.

<sup>3085</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3086</sup> No. 31.

<sup>3087</sup> No. 109.

<sup>3088</sup> *Bhṛtika* = Pāli *Bhātaka* in *Sutta Nipāta* I. 4; cf. S. I. 171; *Jātaka* III. 293; I. 468.

<sup>3089</sup> *Jātaka* III. 406; IV. 43; S. N. p. 12.

<sup>3090</sup> *Gangamāla Jātaka* (No. 421).

<sup>3091</sup> *Sutanu Jātaka* (No. 398).

<sup>3092</sup> D. I. 51; cf. Mil. 147; 331; A. I. 146, 206.

<sup>3093</sup> No. 398.



maintained himself and the only other dependent, his mother with great difficulty.

(b) *Slaves*—Next, there were slaves who were an adjunct in comparatively rich households. The male slaves sometimes served as a valet or footman to his master's son<sup>3094</sup> or as a store-keeper to his master<sup>3095</sup>; while the female slaves in royal establishments waited upon the queens and performed such duties as daily buying flowers for them<sup>3096</sup> and looking after the jewels of the ladies in the royal harem.<sup>3097</sup> In other households they had to husk paddy,<sup>3098</sup> pound rice<sup>3099</sup> and fetch water.<sup>3100</sup> They were sometimes put on hire to work for others.<sup>3101</sup> Slaves seem to have been recruited from all classes of society. The Viśwantara Jātaka seems to point to the fact that the enslavement of high-born prince and princess was nothing which could shock the social ideas of the day. From the Vidurapandita Jātaka<sup>3102</sup> we learn that slaves were of four kinds:—(1) garvadāsa, born slaves (i.e., children of slaves) (2) kritadāsa or those sold for money (3) bhaktadāsa or those who voluntarily recognise others as their owners for food and clothing (4) or for protection. To the *fifth* class belonged the karamaras of Pāli literature, those who were captured by the robbers that raided villages as in the Takka<sup>3103</sup> and Chullanārada<sup>3104</sup> Jātakas. These karamaras are akin to the dhvajāhṛta class of slaves described by Manu. To the *sixth* class belonged the daṇḍadāsa who were reduced to slavery as a judicial punishment. An instance of such degradation is furnished by the Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>3105</sup> where the king enslaves the tyrannical village headman for his crimes.

The slaves formed part of the property of wealthy householders. "Wives and children, bondwomen and bondmen, goats and sheep, fowl and swine, elephants, cattle, horses and mares, together with gold and coins of

<sup>3094</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125).

<sup>3095</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3096</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verses 21—23.

<sup>3097</sup> Mahāsāra Jātaka (No. 92).

<sup>3098</sup> D. C. III. 321.

<sup>3099</sup> Rohini Jātaka (No. 45).

<sup>3100</sup> Vimānavattu commentary p. 45.

<sup>3101</sup> Nāmasiddhika Jātaka (No. 97).

<sup>3102</sup> No. 545.

<sup>3103</sup> No. 63.

<sup>3104</sup> No. 477.

<sup>3105</sup> No. 31.



silver"<sup>3106</sup> all those ties the householder is said to pursue with blind and avid appetite. But knowing that they are fetters and encumbrances, even the unconverted man when speaking in praise of Gautama might say "He refrains from accepting slavewomen or slave-men."<sup>3107</sup> The Theragāthā indicates that they were completely at their master's control and had no freedom except that given to them by their masters.<sup>3108</sup> They could be gifted away<sup>3109</sup> or exchanged for another.<sup>3110</sup> For this loss of *persona* Vāsīṣṭha exempts them from taxation. For this very reason the master's consent was necessary for the slave's marriage. Pasenadi, king of Kośala had to obtain the consent of the master before he could marry Mallikā, daughter of a slave woman of one of the leading Śākya chiefs named Mahānāman. For the same reason the marriage of a slave with free women hardly improved his status.<sup>3111</sup> Similarly, sons born of a slave-girl by a free man were hardly regarded as free. Hence the Lichchhavis never recognised Vāsavakhattiya as a member of the Śākya family since she was the daughter of a Śākya prince by the slave-girl Nāgamundā.<sup>3112</sup>

The slaves, however, might be manumitted<sup>3113</sup> or might free themselves by payment;<sup>3114</sup> but while still undischarged they were not even eligible for the pavajjā ordination.<sup>3115</sup> As Rhys Davids<sup>3116</sup> points out, although slaves might be admitted into some of the orders coexistent with the Buddhist saṃgha, Gotama restricted this custom, so that "whenever slaves were admitted to the Order they must have previously obtained the consent of their masters, and also, I think, have been emancipated". This is borne out by the story of the jealous woman who mutilated her female servant.<sup>3117</sup> When the outrage was brought to light and the woman and her husband had been reprimanded by Gotama, they were converted to the

<sup>3106</sup> Majjhima, I. 162.

<sup>3107</sup> Dialogues, I. p. 5.

<sup>3108</sup> Psalms of the Brethern, p. 360; cf. Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>3109</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131).

<sup>3110</sup> Āpastamva I. 20. 15.

<sup>3111</sup> Chullaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3112</sup> Bhadrāsāla Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>3113</sup> D. I. 72; Psalms of the Sisters, p. 117; Psalms of the Brethern, p. 22; Jātaka V. 313 (dāsajanam bhujiṣṣam katvā).

<sup>3114</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 557).

<sup>3115</sup> Mahāvagga I. 47.

<sup>3116</sup> Dialogues I. p. 103.

<sup>3117</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verse 314.

faith, and then and there they freed the female slave and made her a follower of the Dhamma. The Therigāthā commentary<sup>3118</sup> tells us that Punṇā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada's domestic slave, was given freedom by her master when she defeated a Brahmin in argument and then allowed to enter the order.

The lot of the slave seems to have been far better than that of either the Greek or the Roman slave. From the Śrikālakarṇī,<sup>3119</sup> Gangamāla<sup>3120</sup> and Uraga<sup>3121</sup> Jātakas we find that the slaves were treated as members of the family and lived virtuous lives like their masters. Some of them, however, were in the habit of stealing like Khujjuttara<sup>3122</sup> though the influence of Buddha's dhamma had a splendid effect on their character. That the slaves remembered their happy personal relationship even when their former master had gifted them away to another and even tried to help their ex-master in his distress is evident from the Asampradāna Jātaka.<sup>3123</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, to find that a master, at the time of his death would show confidence in his slave by telling him only, where he had kept his secret treasure<sup>3124</sup> or would consult his slave-girl as to the nature of the boon he should ask of the king.<sup>3125</sup> In the Uraga Jātaka<sup>3126</sup> a slave-girl did not weep for her dead master and when she was told that the reason for her conduct was probably her ill-treatment by the dead master she stoutly protested and remarked that she had nursed him up from his childhood with great fondness but did not mourn his death because a dead man cannot be brought back to life by crying aloud just as an earthen pitcher once broken cannot be mended. In the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka<sup>3127</sup> we find the slave-girl's son petted and brought up along with the master's son and permitted to learn writing and handicrafts and was afterwards appointed as store-keeper by his master.

There was the other and darker side of the picture as well; for, in the same Jātaka we find the slave saying to himself that if he remained as

<sup>3118</sup> pp. 199 f.

<sup>3119</sup> No. 382.

<sup>3120</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3121</sup> No. 354.

<sup>3122</sup> D. C. I., 208 f.

<sup>3123</sup> No. 131.

<sup>3124</sup> Nandadāsa Jātaka (No. 39).

<sup>3125</sup> Nānāchhanda Jātaka (No. 289).

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<sup>3130</sup> I, 125 f.

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<sup>3138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3139</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on  
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<sup>3140</sup> Theragāthā Commentary on cxxxvi;  
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sight of a chandāla we are further told forebodes evil<sup>3058</sup>; contact with the air that touches his body is pollution<sup>3059</sup>; partaking of his food even without knowledge leads to social ostracism<sup>3060</sup> and even food seen by him is not to be taken.<sup>3061</sup> As examples of low crafts are mentioned those of the nalakāra (worker in grass and reeds) kumbhakāra (potter), pesakāra (weaver), charmakāra (leather-worker) and nīpita (barber). It should, however, be noted that the social stigma resting on these low trades was due sometimes to their very nature (as in the case of the butcher and the tanner) but chiefly to their association with the aboriginal non-Aryan tribes who followed them. Yet other despised callings were the black arts, explanation of signs, omens, auguries, dreams, foretelling events etc.<sup>3062</sup> Jātaka VI. 191 refers to the popular belief that even Nāgas do not dance for shame before actors. Jātaka II. 82 refers to Brethern who used to get a living by being physicians<sup>3063</sup> or runners, doing errands on foot.....the 21 unlawful callings. It is very interesting to note that there is a substantial agreement between the Pali works and Sanskrit law books in this connection. Thus Vasiṣṭha<sup>3064</sup> condemns actors; also Baudhāyana<sup>3065</sup> who adds to them stage-players and teachers of dancing, singing, and acting condemned as upapātakins.<sup>3066</sup> It is thus evident that both the Buddhist and Hindu social opinions are practically at one in condemning certain crafts and professions on the basis of an absolute standard, determined on grounds of moral deficiency and in some cases of uncleanness of the processes of operation involved in the craft.

Similar agreement between Hindu and Buddhist books is to be found with regard to the mobility of labour already mentioned. Thus all the

3058 Mātanga (No. 497); Chittasambhūta (No. 498).

3059 Nassa chandāla kālakappi, adho-vātaṃ yāhi—Śvataketu (No. 377).

3060 Mātanga (No. 497).

3061 Chittasambhūta (No. 498).

3062 Chullavagga XII. 1. 3; Mahāśīla Tevijja Sutta, ch. II.

3063 Note the prohibition in the Hindu smṛti.

3064 III. 3.

3065 I. 5. 10, 14

3066 II. 1, 2, 13. Compare Āpastamba I. 6. 14; Gautama XVII. 17; Vasiṣṭha XIV. 2. 3.



Hindu law books authorise the twice-born classes to take to the occupation of an inferior caste in times of distress or on failure to obtain a living through lawful labour.<sup>3067</sup> Gautama in his Dharmasūtra<sup>3068</sup> says that a brahmin can be a farmer and a trader, though trade in a certain specified articles are forbidden by him<sup>3069</sup> as also by Āpastamva,<sup>3070</sup> Baudhāyana<sup>3071</sup> and Vasiṣṭha.<sup>3072</sup> Vasiṣṭha<sup>3073</sup> prohibits brahmins and kṣatriyas from being usurers but Baudhāyana<sup>3074</sup> says that the vaiśya may practise usury. Even the brahmin priest who neglects his duties may at the king's pleasure be forced to do the work of a śūdra.<sup>3075</sup> But though brahmins lived not only as gentlemen farmers but also as humble ploughmen<sup>3076</sup> in this period a brahmin who persists in trade cannot be regarded as a brahmin nor can a priest who lives as an actor or physician.<sup>3077</sup> In fact, there were recognised customs, not approved in one part of the country but admitted as good usage because locally approved in other parts. For, in discussing usage, Baudhāyana<sup>3078</sup> expressly enumerates customs peculiar to the south and certain others peculiar to the north and adds that to follow these practices except where they are considered right usage is to sin but that for each practice the local rule is authoritative, though Gautama denies this.<sup>3079</sup>

The condition of the labouring classes : (a) *Free labourers*—There is very little evidence to prove that in India slavery ever became the basis of the economic life of the people. Labourers were mostly free and were paid for their work. The free labourers were called kammakara<sup>3080</sup> and their wages<sup>3081</sup> were settled by higgling and haggling as in the Gangamāla Jātaka<sup>3082</sup> In the Avārya Jātaka<sup>3083</sup> the ferryman is also

<sup>3067</sup> Gautama VII. 6 ; Vasiṣṭha II. 22 ;

Baudhāyana II. 4. 16.

<sup>3068</sup> X. 5. Compare Vasiṣṭha II. 24 f.

<sup>3069</sup> VII. 9—20.

<sup>3070</sup> I. 7. 20. 12—13.

<sup>3071</sup> II. 1. 2, 27.

<sup>3072</sup> II. 24—32.

<sup>3073</sup> II. 40.

<sup>3074</sup> V. 10. 21.

<sup>3075</sup> Baudhāyana II. 4. 7. 15.

<sup>3076</sup> Vasiṣṭha III. 33.

<sup>3077</sup> Ibid., III. 3.

<sup>3078</sup> I. 1. 17 f.

<sup>3079</sup> Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II. p. XLIX.

<sup>3080</sup> Suvarṇamāga Jātaka ( No. 359 ) ; Vidurapandita ( No. 545 ).

<sup>3081</sup> Purisatthakaram in Maṇikapṭha Jātaka ( No. 253 ),

<sup>3082</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3083</sup> No. 376.



advised to settle the fare by bargaining before taking a man to the other side of the river. The wage-earning class also existed in the days of Pāṇini<sup>3084</sup> who uses the words *vetana* and *vaitanika*. The *Gangamāla Jātaka*<sup>3085</sup> gives us an insight into the frivolous though gay life led by some of the free labourers of those days. We are told that there was a poor labourer who earned his livelihood by fetching water to others. He contracted questionable intimacy with a poor woman who also earned her living by fetching water. Learning that a great festivity is in progress in the city (of Benares) they decided to join it with their total savings of one *māṣaka* each which they spent in regaling themselves with garland, perfumes and wine. Though the wage-earner was no man's chattel yet his lot seems to have been very hard. In the *Serivāṇij Jātaka*<sup>3086</sup> a free woman who earned her living by working as a domestic drudge in the house of a neighbour is described as living from hand to mouth and unable to save anything with which she could buy from the hawker articles for her only dependent, a grand-daughter. In the *Kuṇḍakapūpa Jātaka*<sup>3087</sup> a free labourer of Śrāvastī is described as making his both ends meet with great difficulty and when the other citizens decided to make a corporate gift to the monks he decided to present Buddha with cakes prepared with the fine husk of rice which only he could spare.

In addition to these there were the day-labourers<sup>3088</sup> whose lot was probably harder. He was to a great extent employed in the larger land-holdings<sup>3089</sup> and paid either in board and lodging<sup>3090</sup> or in money wages.<sup>3091</sup> In a list of callings given in the Buddhist books he ranks along with the mere hewers of wood and flower-gatherers and below the slave.<sup>3092</sup> In the *Sutanu Jātaka*<sup>3093</sup> a day-labourer is described as earning one or one-half *māṣaka* a day with which he is reported to have

<sup>3084</sup> IV. 4. 12.

<sup>3085</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3086</sup> No. 31.

<sup>3087</sup> No. 109.

<sup>3088</sup> *Bhṛtika* = Pāli *Bhātaka* in *Sutta Nipāta* I. 4; cf. S. I. 171; *Jātaka* III. 293; I. 468.

<sup>3089</sup> *Jātaka* III. 406; IV. 43; S. N. p. 12.

<sup>3090</sup> *Gangamāla Jātaka* (No. 421).

<sup>3091</sup> *Sutanu Jātaka* (No. 398).

<sup>3092</sup> D. I. 51; cf. Mil. 147; 331; A. I. 146, 206.

<sup>3093</sup> No. 398.

maintained himself and the only other dependent, his mother with great difficulty.

(b) *Slaves*—Next, there were slaves who were an adjunct in comparatively rich households. The male slaves sometimes served as a valet or footman to his master's son<sup>3094</sup> or as a store-keeper to his master<sup>3095</sup>; while the female slaves in royal establishments waited upon the queens and performed such duties as daily buying flowers for them<sup>3096</sup> and looking after the jewels of the ladies in the royal harem.<sup>3097</sup> In other households they had to husk paddy,<sup>3098</sup> pound rice<sup>3099</sup> and fetch water.<sup>3100</sup> They were sometimes put on hire to work for others.<sup>3101</sup> Slaves seem to have been recruited from all classes of society. The Viśwantara Jātaka seems to point to the fact that the enslavement of high-born prince and princess was nothing which could shock the social ideas of the day. From the Vidurapandita Jātaka<sup>3102</sup> we learn that slaves were of four kinds:—(1) garvadāsa, born slaves (i.e., children of slaves) (2) kritadāsa or those sold for money (3) bhaktadāsa or those who voluntarily recognise others as their owners for food and clothing (4) or for protection. To the *fifth* class belonged the karamaras of Pāli literature, those who were captured by the robbers that raided villages as in the Takka<sup>3103</sup> and Chullanārada<sup>3104</sup> Jātakas. These karamaras are akin to the dhvajāhṛta class of slaves described by Manu. To the *sixth* class belonged the dandadāsa who were reduced to slavery as a judicial punishment. An instance of such degradation is furnished by the Kulāyaka Jātaka<sup>3105</sup> where the king enslaves the tyrannical village headman for his crimes.

The slaves formed part of the property of wealthy householders. "Wives and children, bondwomen and bondmen, goats and sheep, fowl and swine, elephants, cattle, horses and mares, together with gold and coins of

<sup>3094</sup> Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (No. 125).

<sup>3095</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3096</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verses 21—23.

<sup>3097</sup> Mahāsāra Jātaka (No. 92).

<sup>3098</sup> D. C. III. 321.

<sup>3099</sup> Rohini Jātaka (No. 45).

<sup>3100</sup> Vimānavattu commentary p. 45.

<sup>3101</sup> Nāmasiddhika Jātaka (No. 97).

<sup>3102</sup> No. 545.

<sup>3103</sup> No. 63.

<sup>3104</sup> No. 477.

<sup>3105</sup> No. 31.



silver"<sup>3106</sup> all those ties the householder is said to pursue with blind and avid appetite. But knowing that they are fetters and encumbrances, even the unconverted man when speaking in praise of Gautama might say "He refrains from accepting slavewomen or slave-men."<sup>3107</sup> The Theragāthā indicates that they were completely at their master's control and had no freedom except that given to them by their masters.<sup>3108</sup> They could be gifted away<sup>3109</sup> or exchanged for another.<sup>3110</sup> For this loss of *persona* Vasiṣṭha exempts them from taxation. For this very reason the master's consent was necessary for the slave's marriage. Pasenadi, king of Kośala had to obtain the consent of the master before he could marry Mallikā, daughter of a slave woman of one of the leading Śākya chiefs named Mahānāman. For the same reason the marriage of a slave with free women hardly improved his status.<sup>3111</sup> Similarly, sons born of a slave-girl by a free man were hardly regarded as free. Hence the Lichchhavis never recognised Vāsavakhattiya as a member of the Śākya family since she was the daughter of a Śākya prince by the slave-girl Nāgamundā.<sup>3112</sup>

The slaves, however, might be manumitted<sup>3113</sup> or might free themselves by payment;<sup>3114</sup> but while still undischarged they were not even eligible for the pavajjā ordination.<sup>3115</sup> As Rhys Davids<sup>3116</sup> points out, although slaves might be admitted into some of the orders coexistent with the Buddhist saṃgha, Gotama restricted this custom, so that "whenever slaves were admitted to the Order they must have previously obtained the consent of their masters, and also, I think, have been emancipated". This is borne out by the story of the jealous woman who mutilated her female servant.<sup>3117</sup> When the outrage was brought to light and the woman and her husband had been reprimanded by Gotama, they were converted to the

<sup>3106</sup> Majjhima, I. 162.

<sup>3107</sup> Dialogues, I. p. 5.

<sup>3108</sup> Psalms of the Brethern, p. 360; cf. Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>3109</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131).

<sup>3110</sup> Āpastamva I. 20. 15.

<sup>3111</sup> Chullaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3112</sup> Bhadrāsāla Jātaka (No. 465).

<sup>3113</sup> D. I. 72; Psalms of the Sisters, p. 117; Psalms of the Brethern, p. 22; Jātaka V. 313 (dāsajanam bhujissam katvā).

<sup>3114</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 557).

<sup>3115</sup> Mahāvagga I. 47.

<sup>3116</sup> Dialogues I. p. 103.

<sup>3117</sup> Dhammapada Commentary on verse 314.



faith, and then and there they freed the female slave and made her a follower of the Dhamma. The Therīgāthā commentary<sup>3118</sup> tells us that Punṇā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada's domestic slave, was given freedom by her master when she defeated a Brahmin in argument and then allowed to enter the order.

The lot of the slave seems to have been far better than that of either the Greek or the Roman slave. From the Śrikālakarṇī,<sup>3119</sup> Gangamāla<sup>3120</sup> and Uraga<sup>3121</sup> Jātakas we find that the slaves were treated as members of the family and lived virtuous lives like their masters. Some of them, however, were in the habit of stealing like Khujjuttara<sup>3122</sup> though the influence of Buddha's dhamma had a splendid effect on their character. That the slaves remembered their happy personal relationship even when their former master had gifted them away to another and even tried to help their ex-master in his distress is evident from the Asampradāna Jātaka.<sup>3123</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, to find that a master, at the time of his death would show confidence in his slave by telling him only, where he had kept his secret treasure<sup>3124</sup> or would consult his slave-girl as to the nature of the boon he should ask of the king.<sup>3125</sup> In the Uraga Jātaka<sup>3126</sup> a slave-girl did not weep for her dead master and when she was told that the reason for her conduct was probably her ill-treatment by the dead master she stoutly protested and remarked that she had nursed him up from his childhood with great fondness but did not mourn his death because a dead man cannot be brought back to life by crying aloud just as an earthen pitcher once broken cannot be mended. In the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka<sup>3127</sup> we find the slave-girl's son petted and brought up along with the master's son and permitted to learn writing and handicrafts and was afterwards appointed as store-keeper by his master.

There was the other and darker side of the picture as well; for, in the same Jātaka we find the slave saying to himself that if he remained as

<sup>3118</sup> pp. 199 f.

<sup>3119</sup> No. 382.

<sup>3120</sup> No. 421.

<sup>3121</sup> No. 354.

<sup>3122</sup> D. C. I., 208 f.

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<sup>3137</sup> Mahānūmāra Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3138</sup> Ibid.

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The interchange of commodities of various localities must have been considerable during this period. For, the products of industries which came to be localised in a particular place attained a reputation all their own and were, therefore, much prized abroad. Such were the scents, ivory-products, cotton and silk fabrics of Benares, the blankets of Gāndhāra, the cloth of Śivi country, the linen of Kautumvara, the horses of Sind, the mules of Kamvoja and the swords of Daśārṇaka.

Besides the big caravan-traders<sup>3231</sup> we also notice the hawker (kaachhapuṭavāṇijo) and the small traders who used to carry their goods from one village to another on the backs of asses<sup>3232</sup> or on their own heads.<sup>3233</sup> Again some of the merchants specialised in the trade of single commodities. Of such the Jātakas refer to cloth-merchants,<sup>3234</sup> grain merchants<sup>3235</sup> and incense merchants<sup>3236</sup> while Pāṇinī<sup>3237</sup> refers to salt merchants and spice merchants.

As to local trade both retail and wholesale, foodstuffs for the towns were apparently brought to the gates while workshop and bazar occupied their special streets within.<sup>3238</sup> Thus there was a fish-monger's village at a gate of Śrāvastī.<sup>3239</sup> Greengrocery is sold at the four gates of Uttara-Pāñchāla<sup>3240</sup> and venison at the crossroads outside Benares.<sup>3241</sup> Arrows, carriages and other articles for sale were displayed in the āpaṇa<sup>3242</sup> or it might be stored up in the antarāpaṇa.<sup>3243</sup> There were taverns for the sale of liquors<sup>3244</sup> as also hotels for the sale of cooked meat and rice.<sup>3245</sup>

The act of exchange between producer and consumer or between either and a middleman was a free bargain,<sup>3246</sup> leading sometimes to

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| <sup>3231</sup> Serivāṇij Jātaka (No. 3).                        | <sup>3240</sup> Jātaka IV. 445.   |
| <sup>3232</sup> Simhacarṇa Jātaka (No. 189).                     | <sup>3241</sup> Jātaka III. 49 ; cf. M. I. 58 ; III. 91.  |
| <sup>3233</sup> Garga Jātaka (No. 155).                          | <sup>3242</sup> Jātaka II. 267 ; IV. 488 ; Vinaya IV. 248.  |
| <sup>3234</sup> Vidurapandita Jātaka (No. 545).                  | <sup>3243</sup> Jātaka I. 55, 350 ; III. 406.   |
| <sup>3235</sup> Ahitundika Jātaka (No. 365).                     | <sup>3244</sup> Jātaka I. 251 f. ; 268 f. ; VI. 328 ; Vinaya II. 267 ; IV. 248, 249 ; cf. Dhammapada commentary, III. 66. |
| <sup>3236</sup> Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).                      | <sup>3245</sup> Vinaya I. 20 ; II. 267 ; D. 22.   |
| <sup>3237</sup> Lāvāpika, salāluka in Pāṇinī IV. 4 51—54.        | <sup>3246</sup> Jātaka I. 111 f. ; 195 ; II. 222, 289, 424 f. ; III. 282 f.   |
| <sup>3238</sup> Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 76.               |   |
| <sup>3239</sup> Psalms of the Brethren, 166 ; cf. Jātaka I. 361. |   |

adulteration<sup>3247</sup> and the use of false weights.<sup>3248</sup> We notice not only local 'cornering' in hay<sup>3249</sup> but also the dealer's sense of the wear and tear of articles<sup>3250</sup> and a case of that more developed competition called 'dealing in futures.'<sup>3251</sup> Again in the Apannaka Jataka<sup>3252</sup> two traders agree who shall start first. The one thinks that if he arrive first he will get a better, because a non-competitive price; the other also holding that 'competition is killing work' prefers to sell at the price fixed by his predecessor and yields him a start. But though free competition was the rule, custom may well have fixed price to a great extent. The expression "my wife is sometimes as meek as a 100 piece slave-girl"<sup>3253</sup> reveals a customary price. Moreover, for the royal household prices were fixed by the court-valuer without appeal.<sup>3254</sup>

The trade of the traders may well have been largely hereditary<sup>3255</sup>; but their organisations do not seem to have attained the same development as the craft-guilds. The reason seems to have been that the merchant was necessarily a wanderer while industrial organisation in these olden days depended largely upon settled relations and ties of neighbourhood. A Hansa League, for instance, can only grow in highly developed markets and seaports. Nevertheless, there is some significant evidence of corporate concerted action among the merchants. Thus the Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka<sup>3256</sup> mentions hundred or so merchants offering to buy up a newly arrived ship's cargo. Five hundred traders were fellow-passengers on board the ill-fated ships mentioned in the Vālahāśva<sup>3257</sup> and Pāṇḍara<sup>3258</sup> Jātakas; seven hundred others were lucky enough to obtain the services of Supāraga as their pilot,<sup>3259</sup> thus showing co-operative chartering of the same vessel. Again caravan traders had a common chief<sup>3260</sup> who was to

<sup>3247</sup> Nemi Jātaka (No. 541).

<sup>3248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3249</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3250</sup> Apannaka (No. 1) = Jātaka I. 99.

<sup>3251</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi (No. 4) = Jātaka I. 121 f.

<sup>3252</sup> No. 1.

<sup>3253</sup> Nanda (No. 39); Durājāna (No. 64).

<sup>3254</sup> Tapdulanāli (No. 5); Suhanu (No.

158); Nemi (No. 541); Psalms of the Brethern, 25, 212.

<sup>3255</sup> Jātaka II. 287; III. 198.

<sup>3256</sup> No. 4.

<sup>3257</sup> No. 196.

<sup>3258</sup> No. 518.

<sup>3259</sup> Supāraga Jātaka (No. 463).

<sup>3260</sup> Mahāvāpij Jātaka (No. 493).



give directions as to halts, waterings, precautions against robbers and in many cases as to routes, fords etc.<sup>3261</sup>

Further, several partnerships are mentioned, e. g., in the deal in birds exported from India to Babylon<sup>3262</sup> and in horses imported from the north to Benares.<sup>3263</sup> We also notice the partnership of traders of Śrāvastī who carried on joint business and set out with five hundred cart-loads of merchandise,<sup>3264</sup> of two other traders of Śrāvastī who started joint business with five hundred cart-loads of merchandise,<sup>3265</sup> of two merchants of Benares who took five hundred waggons of merchandise from Benares to the country districts with an equal interest of both in the stock-in-trade and in the oxen and waggons.<sup>3266</sup>

A concerted commercial enterprise on a more extensive scale appears in the Jarudapāna Jātaka<sup>3267</sup> where some traders of Śrāvastī carried on joint business and came upon rich finds of minerals of all sorts from iron to lapislazuli which they stowed away to a common treasure-house, giving food to the brotherhood on joint account.

**Methods and media of exchange**—Barter was not uncommon in this period. Its continuance was due to the ease with which ordinary people could exchange their goods readily. Brahmins who were not allowed to trade in articles of agricultural production were permitted to barter home-grown corn, food etc.<sup>3268</sup> Barter was also prescribed for the Saṃgha in certain cases<sup>3269</sup> to whom the use of money was forbidden.<sup>3270</sup> Barter also emerged in certain contingencies e. g., when a potter buys fuel for 16 kahāpaṇas and a few pots,<sup>3271</sup> when among humble folk a dog is bought for a kahāpaṇa and a cloak<sup>3272</sup> or when a wanderer obtains a meal

<sup>3261</sup> Apāṇṇaka (No. 1); Vaṇṇapatha (No. 2); Jarudapāna (No. 256).

<sup>3262</sup> Bāveru Jātaka (No. 339).

<sup>3263</sup> Suhanu Jātaka (No. 158).

<sup>3264</sup> Mahāvāṇij Jātaka (No. 493).

<sup>3265</sup> Kūṭavāṇija Jātaka (No. 98).

<sup>3266</sup> Ibid (Pratyutpannavastu).

<sup>3267</sup> Jarudapāna Jātaka (No. 256).

<sup>3268</sup> Vaśiṣṭha II. 37—39; Gautama VII. 16 f; Āpasthamya I, 20. 9. 6.

<sup>3269</sup> Vinaya II. 174.

<sup>3270</sup> Vinaya II. 294 f; III. 237; Pātimokkha V. 18; V. 19.

<sup>3271</sup> Chullakāśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3272</sup> Sunaka Jātaka (No. 242).



from a woodlander for a gold pin.<sup>3273</sup> From the Sūtras of Pāṇini<sup>3274</sup> we have a large number of words which prove the existence of barter in his time. Thus we have *saurpa*, anything purchased with sūrpa; *vāsanam*, anything purchased with vasana; *maudgika*, anything purchased with the exchange of mudga and so on.

Rice<sup>3275</sup> and cowry-shell (sippika)<sup>3276</sup> were still standards of value when the Jātakas were composed. From Pāṇini<sup>3277</sup> we find that gopuchchha or bovine tail also acted as a medium of exchange. A more common standard of value was, however, the cow. Thus in illustration of Pāṇini's sūtra "*Taddhitārthottara-pada-samāhāre ca*"<sup>3278</sup> we have the word pañcagu which means anything bought in exchange for five cows. Similarly in the Dharmasūtras we find that all fines for murder are reckoned in cows.<sup>3279</sup>

But for the ordinary mechanism of exchange the value of every marketable commodity was stated in figures of a certain metallic medium of exchange. From the evidences furnished by the literature of this period we find the use of the following metallic media of exchange:—  
(1) kakanika<sup>3280</sup> (2) ardhamāṣaka<sup>3281</sup> (3) māṣaka<sup>3282</sup> (4) quarter kārṣa<sup>3283</sup> (5) half-kārṣa<sup>3284</sup> (6) kārṣāpaṇa<sup>3285</sup> (7) pāda<sup>3286</sup> (8) paṇa<sup>3287</sup>

<sup>3273</sup> Jātaka VI. 519.

<sup>3274</sup> Sūrpād aṇṇ anyatarasāyā—Pāṇini V. 1. 26; Satamānaviṃśatika-sahasra-vasanādaṇ—Pāṇini V. 1. 27; Tena Kṛitam—Pāṇini V. 1. 27.

<sup>3275</sup> Tapdulanāli Jātaka (No. 5).

<sup>3276</sup> Śigāla Jātaka (No. 113).

<sup>3277</sup> Ārhat-gopuchchha-saṃkhyā-parimānād thak—V. 1. 19; cf. Pāṇini IV. 4. 6.

<sup>3278</sup> II. 1. 51.

<sup>3279</sup> Āpasthamva I. 21. 1—3; Baudhāyana I. 10. 21—22.

<sup>3280</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4). Kakanika =  $\frac{1}{4}$ th māṣaka (R. Syāma Śāstri's Eng. Trans. of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 98 fn. 6).

<sup>3281</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3282</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78); Matsyadāna Jātaka (No. 288); cf. Suvarṇa māṣaka in Udayabhadra (No. 458) and Saṅkhapāla (No. 524) Jātakas.

<sup>3283</sup> Gangāmāla Jātaka (No. 421).

<sup>3284</sup> Ibid; Mahāswapna (No. 77).

<sup>3285</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4); Kṛṣṇa (No. 29); Nanda (No. 39); Durājāna (No. 64); Śīlāmīmāṃsā (No. 86); Ubhatobharaṣṭa (No. 139); Grāmaṇicapda (No. 257); Supārāga (No. 463); Mahāunmārga (No. 546); Mahāswapna (No. 77); Pāṇini V. 1. 29.

<sup>3286</sup> Pāṇini, V. 1. 34; V. 2. 112.

<sup>3287</sup> Ibid.

- (9) śatamāna<sup>3288</sup> (10) niṣka<sup>3289</sup> (11) suvarṇa<sup>3290</sup> (12) hiraṇya<sup>3291</sup>  
 (13) kaṁsa<sup>3292</sup> and (14) vista.<sup>3293</sup>

Some of these were made of gold and silver, others of copper or base metal. With the single exception of vista which is hardly mentioned in later literature all of these were circulating media of exchange in later periods as well. According to Dr. Goldstucker<sup>3294</sup> some of these even bore stamped impressions on them; and in support of his contention he quotes the following sūtra of Pāṇini: *Rupādāhata prasamsayoryap.*<sup>3295</sup> Here we get the rule for the addition of the suffix yap on the word rūpa to designate both a coin bearing impressions, and a man of fine appearance. Āhata has been explained by the Kāśikā commentary, as bearing impression by stamping: "*Nighātina—tādanādinā, Dīnārādiṣu rūpam yadutpadyate tadāhatamucyate.*" The Pātimokkha<sup>3296</sup> also refers to this practice of stamping impressions on coins which therefore came to be known as rūpyas (or rupiyos in Prakṛt dialects.)

It is worthy of note that most of the names of these media of exchange refer to a certain weight of metal they contained. For example, kārṣāpaṇa contained one karṣa in weight of the metal of which it was composed and was, therefore, called kārṣāpaṇa. On the basis of the weight in metal the medium of exchange contained two systems of currency arose. The older one reckoned the weight at 100 kṛṣṇalas while the newer one that arose in this period reckoned the weight at 80 kṛṣṇalas. Following Manu<sup>3297</sup> we get the following table of weights on which the newer standard was based:—

<sup>3288</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 27; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra XV. 181 and 182.

<sup>3289</sup> Pāṇini, V. 1. 30; Dyūta Jātaka (No. 478); Kuśa (No. 531); Viśwan-tara (No. 547).

<sup>3290</sup> Vinaya III. 219; Illisa Jātaka (No. 78).

<sup>3291</sup> Vinaya III. 219; cf. Pāṇini V. 2. 65; V. 2. 55.

<sup>3292</sup> Pāṇini V. 1. 25.

<sup>3293</sup> Ibid., V. 1. 31.

<sup>3294</sup> Numismata Orientalia, p. 39, fn. 3.

<sup>3295</sup> Pāṇini V. 2. 120

<sup>3296</sup> V. 18; V. 19.

<sup>3297</sup> VIII. 134—37.

For gold :

5 kṛṣṇalas or	
5 guñjaberry seeds or	
5 ratis make	1 Māṣaka
4 māṣakas make	1 Pāda
4 pādas or	
80 kṛṣṇalas i. e.,	
80 guñjaberry seeds i. e.,	
80 ratis make	1 Karṣa
1 karṣa makes	1 Suvarṇa
4 suvarṇas make	1 Pala
1 pala makes	1 Niṣka

For silver :

2 ratis make	1 Māṣaka
16 māṣakas make	1 Dharāṇa

According to Kauṭilya<sup>3298</sup> 1 silver māṣaka was 88 white mustard seeds (gaura sarṣapa) in weight. Now 18 white mustard seeds are equal in weight to one kṛṣṇala or guñjaberry seed ; so that a silver dharāṇa will be equal to  $\frac{16 \times 88}{18} = 78\frac{2}{3}$  kṛṣṇalas. Hence a dharāṇa was equal in weight (78 $\frac{2}{3}$  kṛṣṇalas) to one Suvarṇa or 1 Karṣa (80 kṛṣṇalas)

For Copper :

Five ratis make	1 Māṣaka
4 māṣakas make	1 Pāda
4 pādas or 80 ratis make	1 Karṣa.

The older Śatamāna standard still continued in some localities. From the Vinaya Piṭaka<sup>3299</sup> we learn that in Rājagṛha in the time of Ajātaśatru or Vimbisāra one pāda was equal to five māṣakas so that in that locality the karṣāṇa was equal in weight to  $5 \times 20$  or 100 ratis (as against  $4 \times 20$  or 80 ratis under the new standard). We have seen that according to the new standard four suvarṇas make one niṣka but according to the evidence of old Pāli literature<sup>3300</sup> five suvarṇas make one niṣka so that

<sup>3298</sup> Arthaśāstra, Bk. II. ch. 19.

<sup>3299</sup> III. 45.

<sup>3300</sup> Childers — Pali Dictionary, s. v. Nikkha.



like the pāda of the Vinaya Piṭaka the niṣka was also based on the older Satamāna standard.

We have at present very little evidence at our disposal to enable us to find out as to whether gold or silver was the accepted standard of currency. Both the standards seem to have existed side by side. As to the relative value of gold and silver in this period we are absolutely in the dark. According to Dr. Prāṇanātha<sup>3301</sup> "A careful study of the fines prescribed in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya may possibly afford a clue to the value of gold and silver. In assessing fines the value of any stolen article was taken into consideration. According to Kauṭalya the fine should be ten times the value of the stolen article.....Kauṭalya in section 76 assessed the fines payable for the theft of one māṣaka of gold and silver as 200 and 12 copper paṇas respectively. If these fines represent twelve times the value of the stolen article, then the value of the gold and silver pieces, each weighing 1 māṣaka comes to 16.6 and 1 copper paṇa respectively." On the basis of a very reliable evidence furnished by a second century inscription Dr. D. R. Bhāṇḍārakāra<sup>3302</sup> has found out the ratio between gold and silver as 14.1 to 1.

**Instruments of credit :—**Though as yet we have no evidence to prove the existence of collective banking, instruments of credit were not altogether unknown, for, in the Jātakas we read of signet rings being used by merchants as deposit or security (satyankāra = Pāli satyakāra)<sup>3303</sup> and of I. O. U. 's (iṇṇapannani<sup>3304</sup> or likhita<sup>3305</sup>).

**Weights and measures :—**The tulā (scales) mentioned in the White Yajurveda<sup>3306</sup> was in general use in this period as is evident from its use in similes.<sup>3307</sup> Besides udanka (= Pāli ulunka)<sup>3308</sup> a liquid measure (for water) we find the use of the following weights and measures in this

<sup>3301</sup> A Study in the Economic condition of Ancient India, pp. 86-87.

<sup>3302</sup> Ancient Indian Numismatics.

<sup>3303</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4)

<sup>3304</sup> Khadirāṅgāra (No. 40); Ruru (No. 482).

<sup>3305</sup> Vasiṣṭha, XVI. 10.

<sup>3306</sup> XXX. 17.

<sup>3307</sup> Kukkura Jātaka (No. 22); Mahānārada Kāśyapa (No. 544).

<sup>3308</sup> Kuṇḍakapūpa Jātaka (No. 109).

period<sup>3309</sup> :—(1) māṣa<sup>3310</sup> (2) nālikā<sup>3311</sup> (3) āḍhaka<sup>3312</sup> (4) māna<sup>3313</sup> and (5) droṇa.<sup>3314</sup>

**Purchasing power of money**—the Jātakas furnish us with the daily earnings of some classes of labourers in money and with the purchasing power of money. But unfortunately it is difficult to find out whether the unit of money was of silver or copper. Moreover, the Jātakas contain not only exaggerations but also imaginary colourings of facts and as such on their evidence scientific calculations cannot be based. Nevertheless if we make due allowance for all such exaggerations the evidences furnished by them may throw a flood of light on the wealth and welfare of the people of those days. Thus the fee paid to a barber was eight kārṣāṇas, presumably of copper.<sup>3315</sup> The fee of a high class courtesan was 1000 kārṣāṇas per night.<sup>3316</sup> One thousand kārṣāṇas were the usual tuition fee paid in advance to the ācārya.<sup>3317</sup> Poorer students must have paid lower fees as they had to collect them by begging. In the Dyūta Jātaka<sup>3318</sup> a student after completing his education managed to collect only seven niṣkas which however, he lost on the way by a boat-accident. He then resorted to hunger-strike and obtained thereby from the king 14 niṣkas which he paid to his teacher. From the Gangāmāla Jātaka<sup>3319</sup> we find that a male

<sup>3309</sup> An idea of these weights and measures may be obtained from the following tables based on later authorities :—

(a) According to Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra Bk. II. ch. XIX) :—

10 seeds of māṣa (Phaseolus Radiatus) or	
5 guñjaberries make	1 Suvarṇamāṣa
16 suvarṇamāṣas make	1 suvarṇa
	or karṣha
4 kārṣhas make	1 Pala

(b) According to Śaṅgadhara Saṃhitā (pp. 10 — 13) :—

5 × 16 × 4 = 320 guñjaberries make	1 Pala
4 palas make	1 Kuḍava
4 kuḍavas make	1 Prastha
1 prastha makes	1 Nālikā
4 nālikās make	1 Āḍhaka

2 āḍhakas make	1 Māna
2 mānas or	
4 āḍhakas make	1 Droṇa

<sup>3310</sup> Pāṇini V. 1. 53

<sup>3311</sup> Tapdulanāli (No. 5); Vārūpi (No. 47); Sālitaka (No. 107).

<sup>3312</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131); Pāṇini V. 1. 53.

<sup>3313</sup> Asampradāna Jātaka (No. 131).

<sup>3314</sup> Vikarṇaka Jātaka (No. 232)

<sup>3315</sup> Supārāga Jātaka (No. 463)

<sup>3316</sup> Kaṇavera (No. 318); Sulasā (No. 419); Tarkārika (No. 481).

<sup>3317</sup> Sasīma (No. 163); Tilamuṣṭhi (No. 252).

<sup>3318</sup> No. 478.

<sup>3319</sup> No. 421.

and a female water-carrier used to earn half a māṣaka each per day, while from the Viṣaḥya Jātaka<sup>3320</sup> we learn that a śreṣṭhi, being reduced to bankruptcy took to the work of a grass-cutter and earned two māṣakas a day out of which he intended to give away one māṣaka, keeping the other for himself, which he thought would fetch sufficient food for him and his wife for one day. In the Sutanu Jātaka<sup>3321</sup> a day labourer is described as earning one-half to one māṣaka a day with which he somehow maintained himself and his mother. Even if the māṣaka referred to in the above three Jātakas be a silver one it is apparent that the prices of necessities of life must have been very cheap so that one-half māṣaka of silver was sufficient for one man for one whole day.

In fact the purchasing power of money was high. A big Rohita fish was worth seven māṣakas.<sup>3322</sup> Half a māṣaka of meat was sufficient for one lizard.<sup>3323</sup> A small quantity of clarified butter or oil could be had for a copper kārṣāpana.<sup>3324</sup> A cup of surā was worth one copper kārṣāpana.<sup>3325</sup> Six kārṣas (kārṣāpanas ?) would buy coarse clothing for a monk and ten kārṣas for a nun.<sup>3326</sup> In the Bhikkhuṇī Pātimokkha two kārṣas and a half and four kārṣas are set down respectively as the price of small and big covering pieces for nuns. A pair of ox would cost 24 kārṣāpanas.<sup>3327</sup> Eight kārṣāpanas could buy a decent ass.<sup>3328</sup> A young calf was sufficient as house-rent (nivāsa-vetana) for a certain period.<sup>3329</sup> Hire for an ox used in carrying a cart across a shallow river was two kārṣāpanas.<sup>3330</sup> Cart-hire from Benares city to the pattana (port) near by was eight kārṣāpanas.<sup>3331</sup> The price of a slave was 100 kārṣāpanas, presumably of silver.<sup>3332</sup> The price of slaves, however, varied with their accomplish-

<sup>3320</sup> No. 340.

<sup>3321</sup> No. 398.

<sup>3322</sup> Matsyadāna Jātaka (No. 288)

<sup>3323</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3324</sup> Vinaya IV. 248-50

<sup>3325</sup> Illisa Jātaka (No. 78)

<sup>3326</sup> Pātimokkha.

<sup>3327</sup> Kṛṣṇa (No. 29); Grāmaṇichapda (No. 257).

<sup>3328</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3329</sup> Kṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 29).

<sup>3330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3331</sup> Chullakaśreṣṭhi Jātaka (No. 4).

<sup>3332</sup> Nanda (No. 39) : Durājāna (No 64) ; In the Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547) Amitratāpanā was given in lieu of 100 kārṣāpanas kept as deposit with her father who spent it away.



ments, good birth or ( if a woman ) beauty as is evident from the Śaktubhastā<sup>3333</sup> and Viśwantara<sup>3334</sup> Jātakas.

Certain articles, however, were noted for their high price. Kapotikā wine was very dear.<sup>3335</sup> Strong drink was exchanged for gold and silver pieces.<sup>3336</sup> A gold necklace worth a thousand pieces presumably of silver<sup>3337</sup> and sātakas worth a thousand pieces presumably of copper<sup>3338</sup> are referred to. Essence of sandalwood,<sup>3339</sup> woolen blankets<sup>3340</sup> and Benares fabrics each worth a lac pieces presumably of copper<sup>3341</sup> are also mentioned.

**Progress of capitalism :—**(a) *Hoarding*—With the growth of trade and commerce and development of town-life luxury invaded society, gambling and want of thrift reduced many families to poverty and much of this wealth passed into other hands. Ordinary people hoarded their wealth either under the ground<sup>3342</sup> or deposited it with a friend.<sup>3343</sup> Rich people kept a register of the nature and amount of the wealth thus hoarded on inscribed plates of gold or copper.<sup>3344</sup>

(b) *Usury*—Nevertheless money was lent on interest. There is a tolerant tone concerning the moneylender in the Rohantamṛga Jātaka<sup>3345</sup> where moneylending together with tillage, trade and harvesting are called four honest callings. Gautama<sup>3346</sup> is equally tolerant; though Vasiṣṭha<sup>3347</sup> and Baudhāyana<sup>3348</sup> condemn it. Hypocritical ascetics are accused of practising it.<sup>3349</sup> In Pāṇini's sūtras<sup>3350</sup> we find the words Dvaiguṇika, Traiguṇika and Daśaikādaśika which go to prove the exorbitant rates of interest exacted

<sup>3333</sup> No. 402.

<sup>3334</sup> No. 547 (case of Prince Viśwantara and his sister).

<sup>3335</sup> Surāpāna Jātaka (No. 81).

<sup>3336</sup> Vāruṇi Jātaka (No. 47).

<sup>3337</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>3338</sup> Utsanga (No. 67); Guṇa (No. 157); Therigāthā, ch. XIV.

<sup>3339</sup> Kurudharma (No. 276); cf. Sandalwood worth 1 lac pieces in Mahāsvapna (No. 77).

<sup>3340</sup> Viśwantara Jātaka (No. 547).

<sup>3341</sup> Mahāśvāroha Jātaka (No. 302); Mahāunmārga (No. 546).

<sup>3342</sup> Jāt. I. 225, 235f., 424; II. 308; III. 24, 116.

<sup>3343</sup> Jāt. VI. 521; Vin. III. 237.

<sup>3344</sup> Jāt. IV. 7, 488; VI. 29; cf. IV. 237.

<sup>3345</sup> No. 501.

<sup>3346</sup> X. 6; XI. 21.

<sup>3347</sup> II. 41, 42.

<sup>3348</sup> I. 5, 10.

<sup>3349</sup> Mahākṛṣṇa Jātaka (No. 469)

<sup>3350</sup> IV. 4. 30; IV. 4. 31; V. 1. 47.

by some of the moneylenders of those days. Debtors were often reduced to slavery for non-payment of debts. Thus in the *Therīgāthā* Isidāsī, a nun narrates the story of her reduction to slavery in one of her previous births on account of her father's debts.<sup>3351</sup> Moreover, debtors were not allowed to enter the Buddhist Order.<sup>3352</sup> On the other hand the usurers seem to have organised themselves into guilds having customary laws governing their transactions.<sup>3353</sup> *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>3354</sup> and *Gautama*<sup>3355</sup> name six different kinds of interest viz., compound, periodical, stipulated, corporal, daily and the use of pledge. The legal rate is fixed at five *māṣas* a month<sup>3356</sup> for 20 *kāṛṣāpaṇas* which comes to about 18½%. Anybody who exacted more than this legal rate of interest is called *Vārdhūṣika*. But according to *Vaśiṣṭha*,<sup>3357</sup> two, three, four, five in the 100 is declared in the *Smṛti* to be the monthly rate of interest according to caste. Again articles such as gold, grain, flavouring substance, flowers, roots, fruits, wool, beasts of burden without security could be lent at an enormous rate of interest which could be increased six or eight-fold. The interest, however, stopped with the death of the king in whose reign the transaction took place.

Loans were contracted either on notes of hand<sup>3358</sup> or on the deposit of pledges (*ādhi*).<sup>3359</sup> It appears that the debtor got back his note of hand when the loan was repaid.<sup>3360</sup>

**The State in relation to Economic life**—The science of *Varttā* which concerned itself with the various branches of production as understood in those days formed a part of the curriculum of royal studies<sup>3361</sup> and the king was repeatedly asked whether he was paying proper attention to the prosperity of those who are engaged in cattle-rearing, agriculture and

<sup>3351</sup> See also D. I. 71.

<sup>3352</sup> *Vinaya* I 76.

<sup>3353</sup> *Gautama* XI. 21.

<sup>3354</sup> II. 51

<sup>3355</sup> XII. 34-35

<sup>3356</sup> *Gautama* XII. 29. *Baudhāyana* I. 5. 10. 22.

<sup>3357</sup> II. 42—50.

<sup>3358</sup> *Īṇṇapaṇṇani* in *Khadirāṅgāra* (No. 40) and *Ruru* (No. 48); *likhita* in *Vaśiṣṭha* XVI. 10.

<sup>3359</sup> *Jātaka* VI. 521; *Therīgāthā*, 404.

<sup>3360</sup> *Khadirāṅgāra* (No. 40); *Ruru* (No. 48).

<sup>3361</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*.

trade.<sup>3362</sup> Kings seem to have kept granaries for emergencies like war and famine<sup>3363</sup> and to have provided persons with food and seed-corn to enable them to start farming.<sup>3364</sup> He was bound not only to protect the property of infants<sup>3365</sup> but also to maintain the śrotriyas, the weak, the aged, women without means and lunatics.<sup>3366</sup> Āpastamva<sup>3367</sup> calls upon kings to build a hall open to guests of the first three varṇas and to see that no Brahmin suffered from hunger in his realm.

In exchange for these and other services rendered by him the king had a right to a tithe on raw produce whose amount and method of assessment we have already described. Moreover, all property left intestate or ownerless reverted to the crown.<sup>3368</sup> Gautama<sup>3369</sup> lays down that the property of a Brahmin who leaves no issue (apparently, no successor) is divided among the Brahmins, but the king appropriates in such cases the property of men of other castes. According to Āpastamva<sup>3370</sup> on failure of all (relations) let the king take the inheritance. Vaśiṣṭha<sup>3371</sup> and Baudhāyana<sup>3372</sup> are also of the same opinion. Vaśiṣṭha, however, excludes a Brahmin's property from the operation of this law.

Further the king was to proclaim by criers lost property, and if the owner be not found in a year, to keep it, giving  $\frac{1}{4}$ th to the finder. All treasure-trove belongs to the king. An exception is made when a priest is the finder and some say that anybody who finds it gets  $\frac{1}{8}$ th.<sup>3373</sup> The king could impose forced labour (rāja-kāriya) on the people but this may have been limited to the confines of his estates. Thus, the peasant-proprietors enclose a deer-reserve for their king so that they might not be summoned to leave their tillage to beat up game for him.<sup>3374</sup> Gautama<sup>3375</sup> says that the king should force artisans to work for him for

<sup>3362</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. 103.

<sup>3363</sup> Ind. Ant. 1893, p. 261.

<sup>3364</sup> D. I. 135.

<sup>3365</sup> Gautama X. 25.

<sup>3366</sup> Vaśiṣṭha XIX. 35; Gautama X. 9-12; Āpastamva II. 10. 4-12.

<sup>3367</sup> II. 10. 4-12.

<sup>3368</sup> Jātaka. III. 302; cf. IV. 415, S. I. 89 (Kindred Sayings I. 115).

<sup>3369</sup> XXVIII. 41.

<sup>3370</sup> II. 14. 5.

<sup>3371</sup> XVII. 83-86; cf. XVI. 19.

<sup>3372</sup> I. 11. 14-16; cf. I. 18. 16.

<sup>3373</sup> Gautama X. 31.

<sup>3374</sup> Nyagrodhamūga Jātaka (No. 12); Nandikamūga (No. 385); cf. Mahāsvapna (No. 77).

<sup>3375</sup> Gautama X. 31.



one day in the month. If the stock is merchandise, says Gautama,<sup>3376</sup> the tax according to some is  $\frac{1}{20}$ th, if it be gold or cattle  $\frac{1}{10}$ th, while  $\frac{1}{60}$ th is the tax on roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass and firewood.

It may be noted in this connection that śrotrīyas, ascetics forbidden to hold property, students, artisans, those who live by exploiting river, forest or hills, those earning less than a kārṣāṇa, slaves, servants, very old men, blind, dumb, deaf and diseased persons, those without protectors, children before puberty, women of all castes, wives of servants, widows who have returned to their families, unmarried girls and pradattā's (probably those girls whose marriages have been proposed)—all these were exempt from taxation.<sup>3377</sup>

Regulation of prices and profits by the state came as a natural sequel to the ideal of co-operation on which Indian society, though apparently split up into castes, was based. Undue raising of prices came to be denounced<sup>3378</sup> and, as we have already seen, for the royal household prices came to be fixed by the court-valuer without appeal; and what was once done in the interest of the king came to be done in the next epoch in the interest of the public as well. The exactions of the vārdhūsika came to be denounced, his food was regarded as impure<sup>3379</sup> and the rate of interest, was fixed.<sup>3380</sup> On the same principle Vasiṣṭha<sup>3381</sup> asks the king to guard against the falsification of weights and measures.

While exploitation of others by capitalists came to be denounced great emphasis was laid on the performance of duties assigned to individuals and castes. We have already seen how the Dharmasūtras not only condemned those who did not perform their caste-duties<sup>3382</sup> but also authorised the king to punish them.<sup>3383</sup> We similarly find in the Dharmasūtras rules for punishing herdsmen who left their work or persons in tillage who abandoned their work and thereby caused loss to the employer.

<sup>3376</sup> Ibid., 25-27.

<sup>3377</sup> Vasiṣṭha, XIX. 23-27; Āpastamva II. 10. 10-17.

<sup>3378</sup> Vasiṣṭha II. 50.

<sup>3379</sup> Ibid., 40-42.

<sup>3380</sup> Ibid., 42-50; Gautama, XII. 29-35.

<sup>3381</sup> Ch. XIX.

<sup>3382</sup> Āpastamva II. 11. 11.

<sup>3383</sup> Ibid., II. 10. 12-16; cf. Ibid., II. 27. 18; Gautama XI. 31.

Mendicancy and undue asceticism was regarded as a social evil except in the case of men in the decline of their lives. This appears not only from the trend of the conversation between the Buddha and Ajātaśatru but also from the Vāśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra<sup>3384</sup> where begging Brahmins have been denounced as thieves.

Thus, we see that already in this period there were a general tendency to state-interference in economic life which developed into an accredited policy of the state in the next epoch.

The general economic condition of the classes and the masses—The hoarded wealth of the merchants, usually estimated in crores, their magnificent donations to the various religious orders, the establishment of almonaries, the excavation of tanks and other public benefactions of the rich, the existence of the actor, dancer, singer, acrobat, magician, storyteller, shampooer and dress-maker—all point to the prosperity of the upper classes. It is further proved by the rich festivities, large fees paid to courtesans, the high price of rich wines and the stories of betting with big sums.<sup>3385</sup> The luxury of the rich is equally evident from the existence of palatial buildings and the use of hair-dye,<sup>3386</sup> ointment (vilepana),<sup>3387</sup> scent called sarvasamhāraka,<sup>3388</sup> sandalwood oil,<sup>3389</sup> essence of sandalwood,<sup>3390</sup> aguru,<sup>3391</sup> guggulu,<sup>3392</sup> camphor,<sup>3393</sup> chaturjātiya gandha,<sup>3394</sup> kalka,<sup>3395</sup> specially sarṣapa-kalka (mustard

<sup>3384</sup> Ch. II.

<sup>3385</sup> Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543).

<sup>3386</sup> Āmracorā Jātaka (No. 344).

<sup>3387</sup> Apāṇṇaka Jātaka (No. 1).

<sup>3388</sup> Mahāunmārga Jātaka (No. 546).

<sup>3389</sup> Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

<sup>3390</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>3391</sup> Bhallāṭika Jātaka (No. 504);  
Khaṇḍahāla (No. 542).

<sup>3392</sup> Mātanga Jātaka (No. 497).

<sup>3393</sup> Andhabhūta Jātaka (No. 62).

<sup>3394</sup> According to the commentator

knmkum (saffron), jātipuṣpa, turaṣka (a scent from Turkey = myrrh?), yavāna (a scent from Yavana country)—these four made up chaturjātiya gandha referred to in Mahāśīlavajja (No. 51) and Mātanga (No. 497) Jātakas.

<sup>3395</sup> = Pāli kakku in Kuśa (No. 531). According to the commentator powdered mustard, salt, earth, powdered sesamum and turmeric—these five made up kalka.

powder used as face powder),<sup>3396</sup> snānachūrṇa<sup>3397</sup> and sandal powder as toilette for the breasts.<sup>3398</sup>

Men of the middle-class were also happy and often above the reach of want. They too lived a life of ease, indulged in charities, made gifts to the Order, raised money by subscription for charity or for works of public utility and joined in merriment and festivities.

There were, however, poor and too poor people too in villages as also in towns. In the Mahāsāra Jātaka (No. 92) an inhabitant of a janapada says that he has never seen (i. e., possessed) in his life a chair or a bedstead. We have already seen that the lot of the wage-earner appears to have been hard most of whom could with difficulty make their both ends meet. Moreover, the poorer labourers often suffered from the exactions of the money-lenders which sometimes became so unbearable that a debtor would fly to the forest or even attempt to commit suicide to escape from the clutches of his creditors.<sup>3399</sup> Forced labour also injuriously affected their position.

Oppressive taxation sometimes added to the misery of all classes. The Mahāśvāroha Jātaka<sup>3400</sup> speaks of a king (of Benares) who trebled the taxes so that the people could not lift up their heads. Another king (of Benares) oppressed his subjects with taxes and fines (daṇḍavali) and crushed them like sugarcane in a mill.<sup>3401</sup> The Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka<sup>3402</sup> refers to a Pāñchāla king whose subjects being oppressed by taxation fled to the forest where they wandered like wild beasts.<sup>3403</sup>

Occasional famines also caused much distress among the people. The Matsya Jātaka<sup>3404</sup> refers to the suffering caused by a famine in Kōśala due to the failure of rains. In another famine in Kalinga due to draught the people suffered so terribly from want not only of food but also of drinking water that epidemics broke out and leaving their homesteads people had

3396 Mahānāradaśāyapa Jātaka (No. 544).

3397 Vardhakiśūkara Jātaka (No. 283).

3398 Kuśa Jātaka (No. 531).

3399 Bhūridatta (No. 543); Ruru (No. 482).

3400 No. 302.

3401 *Uchchhuṇṇi viya janam pīlesi* in Mahāpingala Jātaka (No. 240).

3402 No. 520.

3403 Mahāsvapna Jātaka (No. 77).

3404 No. 75.



to wander about the country with their children for food.<sup>3405</sup> The Viraka Jātaka<sup>3406</sup> refers to a famine in the kingdom of Kāśī which was so intense in character than unable to find food all the crows left the kingdom. Another famine which overtook a Kāśī village was so terrible that the villagers had to take from their headman a collective loan of an old ox on whose flesh all of them had to subsist for a day or two<sup>3407</sup> Records of such famine are also to be met with in the early canonical literature of the Buddhists.<sup>3408</sup> These evidences contradict the assertion of Megasthenes that famines were unknown in India,<sup>3409</sup> unless of course he meant a very general and protracted famine.

In spite of these visitations India was rich. Stories of her great wealth and prosperity reached the ears of foreigners and roused their greed and this made them invade India. In the fifth century B.C. the small Indian satrapy of Darius was regarded the wealthiest province of his empire, yielding the vast annual tribute of 360 Eubolic talents of gold, worth fully £1,290,000.<sup>3410</sup> This supply of gold India obtained, not as did Europe from America by conquest and rapine but by her mining industries and by the more natural and peaceful method of commerce "by the exchange of such of her productions as among the Indians were superfluities but at the same time not only highly prized by the nations of western Asia, Egypt and Europe but also were obtainable from no other quarter except India or from the farther East by means of the Indian trade."<sup>3411</sup>

## THE END OF VOL. I.

<sup>3405</sup> Kurudharma Jātaka (No. 276).

<sup>3406</sup> No. 204.

<sup>3407</sup> Gṛhapati Jātaka (No. 199).

<sup>3408</sup> Vinaya I. 21, 23f; III. 220, n. 1; compare the five itī's in Sudhābhojana (No. 535). In the Mahāsvapna (No. 77) a dream is interpreted as foreboding famine in Kalinga caused by draught. The

Manicora (No. 194) refers to the popular belief that famines are caused by the sins of rulers.

<sup>3409</sup> McCrindle—Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes, 32.

<sup>3410</sup> Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 487.

<sup>3411</sup> C. Daniell—Industrial Competition of Asia, p. 225.

# Index I. Sources with the Subjects

[ *The references are to the pages of this work* ]

## A

Agni Purāṇa—Translated into English by M. N. Dutt. in two vols. on the right of collecting grass, fuel and flowers enjoyed by Brahmins 82.

Aitareya Āraṇyaka—Text with Eng. Trans. by A. B. Keith on spade 132; gold 123; polished mirrors 135; wooden sacrificial spade 136; seats made of udamvara wood 137; boats 138; ropemaker 149 f.n.; āvasatha ( abode for guests) 168.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—Text with Eng. Trans. by M. Haug in two vols. on the story of Viśwāmitra and his fifty sons who were expelled by him 82-83; sale of Śunahsepha by his father Ajigarta 83; ownership of land; story of Manu dividing his land among his sons 84; Vaiśya's peculiar function of being eaten up by the priest and nobleman 85; law of inheritance 90; beef-eating 111; race of chariots drawn by donkeys 112; vāsas (cloth) 116; daśā (fringe or border of cloth) 161; niṣka (a medium of exchange) 125, 165; necklace of niṣkas 128; wooden sacrificial posts 137; āsandī ( shining seat ) made of udumvara wood 138; āsandī square in shape 138; āsandī rectangular in shape 138; āsandī having four legs 138; stretching of hides with pegs 139; tiger-skin as coverlet for āsandī's 139-40;

preparation of Soma sacrificial drink 141; pillar (methi) 145; śreṣṭhin (banker?) 152, 157; loss of status of the Vaiśyas the mass of the industrial population who became tributary to another (anyasya valikṛt) and whose function was to be devoured by the priest and nobleman 152; gradual transition from human sacrifice to horse-sacrifice during the pastoral stage, thence to the sacrifice of domesticated animals ending with the offering of the fruits of the earth in the agricultural stage 154; Kavasha, son of a low caste woman 155-56; royal priests 156; King Viśwantara sacrificing without the help of of priests 156; high-roads ( mahāpatha ) 159; setu (raised bank for crossing inundated land) 160 f.n.; beef as food for royal and other distinguished guests 165; indebtedness 177.

Alberuni See under Enquiry into India—Alberuni.

Altindischen Leben—Zimmer on weather-prophet 150; kilāla 142, 227 f.n.; grāma as a clan standing between the family and the tribe 25 f.n.; verbal contest in the Vedic village council 23; grāmaṇī as president of the village council 25-26; paṇi 74; seasons 91 f.n.; harmyeṣṭhah prince 173-74.

Amarakoṣa with the commentary of Kṣīraswāmī on Añkotha ( flower tree )

- =Añkola of Bhaṭṭatīka Jātaka ? 236 ;  
 Āsphoṭā (=Aparājītā) = Aphotaka of  
 Viśwantara Jātaka ? 207 fn.
- American journal of Philology (Vol. VII)  
 Bloomfield on Sakadhūmam ( weather-  
 prophet) 50 fn.
- Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon—  
 Rhys Davids on pāda meaning a fourth  
 part of a certain gold weight and not a  
 metallic standard 166.
- Ancient Egyptians—Wilkinson on early  
 trade between ancient India and Egypt  
 21.
- Ancient and Mediæval India—Mrs. Man-  
 ning on elephants unknown to the  
 ancient Egyptians 21 ; preparation of  
 Soma drink 34 fn.
- Ancient and Mediæval Architecture—E.  
 B. Havell on the high antiquity and  
 origin of townplanning in ancient India  
 146.
- Ancient History of the Near East—Hall  
 on the Mitanni and the Kassites of  
 Syria and Sumer worshipping some of  
 the oldest Vedic Gods 73.
- Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes  
 and Arrian—McCrindle on the rela-  
 tions of King Cyrus of Persia with the  
 tribes on the right bank of the Indus  
 163 ; 58 rivers of India 200 ; gold  
 coming from Dardæ = Sans. Darāda or  
 Darāda = modern Dardisthan in Kash-  
 mere 210 ; method of capturing ele-  
 phants, the precursor of modern khedā  
 system 212 ; stones sweeter than figs or  
 honey (= sugarcandy ? ) 229 ; famines  
 unknown in India 280.
- Ancient India as Described by Classical  
 Authors—McCrindle : *Herodotus* on  
 vegetable wool (raw cotton) 202 ; the  
 story of gold-digging ants 209—10 ;  
 export of stones and dogs from India to  
 Babylon 260, 262. *Aristobulus* ( Frag-  
 ment 39) on the ruins of over a thousand  
 towns and villages in the Indus region  
 179 fn. ; (Fragment 29) on rainfall in  
 Taxila 199 ; *Strabo* (XV. C. 693) on the  
 ruins of over a thousand towns and  
 villages in the Indus region 179 fn. ;  
 (XV. C. 691) (cf. C. 697) on rainfall in  
 Taxila 199 ; (XVC. 689) on India, a land  
 of rivers 200 ; (XV. C. 706) on gold  
 coming from Dardæ = Darāda or Darāda  
 = modern Dardisthān in Kashmere 210 ;  
 (XV. 1. 41—43, pp. 704—705) on method  
 of capturing elephants, the precursor  
 of the modern khedā system 212 fn. ;  
 (XV. C. 700) on the primitive nature  
 of Indian mining and metal industries  
 214 ; (XV. C. 701) on Indians having not  
 pursued accurate knowledge in any line  
 except Medicine 214 ; (XV. C. 703) on  
 stones sweeter than figs or honey (= sugarcandy ? ) 229 ; *Theophrastus* on  
 India famous for ivory and ebony 70 fn.  
*Nearchos* (Fragments 9 and 10) on  
 leather oil flasks and white leather  
 shoes 226 ; on earrings of ivory 228.
- Ancient Indian Numismatics (Carmichael  
 Lectures, 1921)—D. R. Bhandakar on  
 the relative value of gold and silver  
 based on a second century inscription  
 271.
- Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān—  
 Col. Todd (2 vols.) on the Hindu names  
 of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia  
 and Sengal rivers of the Tumba Cunda  
 and of another Cundas 19.
- Anguttara Nikāya or the Book of the  
 Gradual Sayings—Translated by M.



Hare in three vols. on the use of birds to guide pilots (In a cloudy day birds were let loose and the direction to which birds went, the mariners thought land lay that way) 262.

Antiquity of Hindu Medicine—Royle *See* under Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine—Royle.

Anukramaṇī to the Rgveda on royal seers who have composed Rgvedic hymns 155—56.

Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya on corporate undertakings by villagers 189; kākanika— $\frac{1}{2}$  māṣaka 268 fn.; 1 silver māṣaka=88 white mustard seeds in weight 270; table of weights and measures 272 fn.

Artic Home in the Vedas—B. G. Tilak on the seasons in the Vedic Age 91 fn.

Atharvaveda—Text Edited by Roth and Whitney and revised by Lindenau on technical terms connected with weaving like otu (woof), tantu (yarn) and mayukha (pegs to stretch the web on or shuttle) 115; vastra (cloth) 116; sic (fringe or border of cloth) 116; nivi (closely woven end of the cloth) 116; drāpi (vest) 47-48, 118; pratidhi (a part of the bride's attire) 118; uṣṇīsa (headdress) 118; kamvala (blanket) 119; sāmulya (undergarment of wool?) 119; uttuda (sprung from tuda or mulberry i. e., silken?) 119; śana (hemp) 119; metals: gold, ayas, silver, tin, lead and śyāma 122; extraction of gold from earth (mines) 125; niṣka (a medium of exchange) 125, 165; chips of gold used in sacrifice 125; gold on the priest's finger 125; gold given as fee to the priest 125; golden ornaments 127; ornaments of various kinds: tiritā,

parihasta, pravarta, ring, golden amulet necklace of niṣkas, kurīra, kumba, opaśa etc. 127-28; silver amulet 130; loha 131; śyama 131; a pair of shears with sharp blades 131; iron axe 132; iron hook 132; razor 132; iron net 132; fetters made of iron 132; sacrificial hatchet 132; sickle to cut and trim the sacred grass 123; threads of iron used in amulet 132; armour 132; iron forts 132; iron pillars 133; dhruva (wooden sacrificial ladle having the largest bowl) 136; juhu (wooden ladle) 136; upabhr̥t (wooden ladle) 136; wooden mace used in sacrifice 136; wooden cover for sacrificial vessels 136; wooden mortar and pestle for pounding rice 136, 169; wooden pegs (used in stretching out skin or woven cloth and for other purposes) 126; wooden sacrificial posts 187; svaru (timber post) 187; drupad (timber post) 137; vanaspati (timber post) 137; tālpa (nuptial bedstead made of wood) 137; proṣṭha (in proṣṭha-śāya) something like a high and broad bench 137; vahya (light couch that could be carried about when necessary) 137; āsandi (shining seat or occupier of a shining seat) 137; Vrātya chief's āsandi described 138; rathakāra 138; carriage 188; boat 138; black antelope-skin as the dress of the religious student 139; deer-skin as dress 139; deer-skin as coverings 139; black antelope-skin used in pressing soma and bruising and husking the rice used in oblations 139, 174; decorated and inlaid (piś) bowls like the starry night 142 and carvings in relief of gods inside the bowl 142; the ordinary type of a dwelling house 148, 168; various divisions of the dwelling house: store-house of soma, agni-

śāla, patninām sadana, store-room for corn, covered verandahs, sheds for cattle etc. 143; gr̥ha (either an actual house erected over or beside the grave in memory of the deceased or chambers and vaults of subterranean or rock-cut caves) 144; pillar (sthunā) on Vedic grave 144-45; dvāra (door) 145 fn.; durōṇa (door) 145 fn.; sthunā (pillar) 145 fn.; svaru (pillar) 145 fn.; methi with variants medhi, methī or methi (pillar) 145 fn.; husbandman 148; taṣṭr (carpenter) 149; sakadhūman (weather-prophet) 105; kusīdin (usurer) 152; slaves and their condition 153; female labour 153; 153 fn.; interchange of commodities of various localities 158; life of the merchant described 159; parirathyā (road suitable for chariots) and cart-roads 159; charm to ensure a prosperous journey 159; parting traveller's address to the houses of his village 159, 168; references to sea and the use of sea by means of simile 160; existence of three seas 160; evaporation of seawater going to form the clouds 160; nāvaprabhramśanam (sliding down of the ship) 161; pratipana (exchange of merchandise) 164; āvasatha (structure of some sort for the reception of guests) 168 fn.; ukhā (cooking pot) 169; sūrpa (winnowing basket) 169; wooden stirring prong 169; fork 169; brahma-udana 169; wife joining her husband in ceremonies and sacrifices 171; wife as queen of the household 171 fn. 171-72; cooking left to the wife 171; bride weaving the garment which the husband is to wear on the first day of his wedded life 172; girls as milkmaids of the family 172; liberality of princes 173; harmya 174; women winnowing

grain 174; women collecting the alkaline droppings of the cow 174; attendants 174; lākṣā (lac) 176; rate of interest 177; prayers to deities in connection with debts 177; contraction of debt with the intention of non-payment 177; King Parīkṣhit realising the ideal of material welfare of his subjects during his rule 178.

Atharvaveda—Eng. Trans. by M. Bloomfield *See* under Hymns of the Atharvaveda by M. Bloomfield.

Atharvaveda—Eng. Trans. by R. T. H. Griffith in two volumes on śārisākā as cultivated rice 93; forests supplying materials for the construction of chariots 97; on the use of udumvara wood in making amulets, sacrificial posts and ladles 98; the use of the timber of the hard-wooded tree Aratu in making the axles of chariots and carts 99; Ābaya as being poisonous in its natural condition but medicinal when cooked and properly prepared 105; on the use of the skin of the black antelope in pressing Soma and bruising and husking the rice used in oblations 139 fn.

Atthasālinī (Buddhaghōṣa's commentary on Dhammasangani)—Trans. into Eng. by Maung Tin in two vols. on the relative position of the apprentice and the master craftsman 245.

Āpasthamva Gṛhyasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by F. Max Muller in the S.B.E. series vol. XXX. on the rules and rites of house-building 235.

Āpasthamya Dharmasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by George Buhler in the S. B. E. series vol. II. on forests as the

abode of hermits 203 fn.; rigidity of the caste system 244, 277; the condemned professions 249; a śūdra can become a Brahmin and *vice versa* according to good or bad deeds 248; slaves could be exchanged for another 253; Brahmins permitted to barter homegrown corn, food, etc. 267; cow as a standard of value 268; the king's duty to maintain śrotṛiyas, the weak, the aged, women without means and lunatics 276; king's duty to build a hall open to guests of the first three varṇas and to see that no Brahmin suffered from hunger 276; property left ownerless reverting to the crown 276; those exempted from taxation 277.

Āśutoṣa Silver Jubilee Volumes on Orientalia vol. III. (Article by Prof. K. M. Gupta) on the Land System and Agriculture of the Vedic Age 91—92.

Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by H. Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series vol. XXIX. on vṛihi (rice) 200; yava (barley) 201; sesamum 202; armour 214; axe 215; copper implements 216; copper razor 216; gold vessels 216; gold spoon 217; ornament 217; earring 218; chariot 222; wooden spoon 223; juhu (spoon) 223; uprbhṛt (spoon) 223; sruva (small sacrificial ladle) 223; dhruva (big sacrificial ladle) 223; agnihotraḥavani 223; pātrī 223; prasitraharana 223; wooden dish 223; wooden sacrificial cup 223; sphya (wooden sacrificial sword) 224; basket 224; winnowing basket 225; earthen vessels 225; jug 225; jar 225; shoes 225; leather by which the arm is protected against the bow-string 226; rules and rites on house-building 235;

method of examining the building site 235.

Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇī on karpāsa (cotton) 120, 202.

## B

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra—Trans. into English by George Buhler in the S. B. E. series in Vol. XIV. on the articles used in the preparation of the Soma drink 141; condemnation of the custom of N. Aryans participating in sea-trade 163, 259, 260; condemnation of town-life 186; ideal economic holding 190; law of inheritance and succession 193-95;  $\frac{1}{4}$ th as the royal share of the produce 196; forests as the habitation of hermits 203; condemnation of actors, stage-players and teachers of acting, singing and dancing 249; āpaddharma 250; cow as a standard of value 268; condemnation of money-lending 274; five māṣas a month for twenty kārṣāpānas as the legal rate of interest 275; property left ownerless reverting to the crown 276.

Beginnings of South Indian History—S. Krishnaswami Iyenger on Babylonian influence on Hindu Astronomy 73.

Bibliography of Indian Geology (article on gold by La Touche) on Neolithic gold mining 4.

Biography of Words—F. Max Muller on the common knowledge of the arts of the weaver, the carpenter and the plaiter of grass and reeds among the peoples speaking the Indo-European group of languages 45; loha originally meaning copper but later on denoting iron 49.



Black Yajurveda *See* Taittiriya Saṃhitā.

Book of the Kindred Sayings, The—  
Rhys Davids and F. H. Woodhard *See*  
under Kindred Sayings.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad—Trans. into Eng.  
by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E.  
Series Vol. XV. on the crops grown  
94; gold 123; silver 123; goldsmith  
124; pādas of gold 125 fn.; golden  
vessel for Aśvamedha called mahiman  
126 fn.; ladle of pure gold 126; silver  
vessel for Aśvamedha called mahiman  
130; metal vessels 131; razor 132;  
sruva (small wooden sacrificial ladle)  
136; cup made of udumvara wood 136;  
169; waggons 138; carriage 138;  
Kings Pravahana Jāvāla and Ajātaśatru  
disputing with and instructing Brah-  
mins in the lore of the Brahmā 156;  
gaṇa 157; description of horses and  
salt as coming from the Indus regions  
151; setu (raised bank for crossing  
inundated land) 160 fn.; pāda as a  
metallic standard 167 fn.; liberality  
of princes 173; lākṣā (lac) 176.

Buddhaghosa's Commentary on Mahāvagga  
I. 30, 231.

Buddhist Birth Stories—Rhys Davids on  
female dancers and singers 256.

Buddhist India—T. W. Rhys Davids on  
corporate village life 188; Suppāraka  
city 183; Solasa mahājanapada in the  
Jātaka period 197; picture-gallery of  
King Pasenadi of Kośala 237; articles  
in which the merchants dealt 262;  
Suppāraka as a port of departure 262;  
retail and wholesale trade: its arrange-  
ments 265.

Buddhist Records of the Western world—  
Beal *See* under Si-Yu-Ki.

Buddhist Suttas—Trans. into Eng. by T.  
W. Rhys Davids in the S. B. E. Series  
Vol. XI. on Sāketa city 182; cattle-  
rearing (in Dhaniya Sutta) 211;  
detailed description of a flight of  
stairs 234; open-air bathing tank des-  
cribed 234; 2000 years old baths at  
Anurādhapura in Ceylon still in a fair  
state of preservation described 234 fn.

## C

Calcutta Review (April, 1933) Prof. Amūlya  
Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (in his article on  
Social life in Jaina Literature) on 1000  
pieces as the fee of a courtesan (Kāma-  
dwajā Vanijagrāma) for one night 257;  
umbrella and yak-tail granted to a  
courtesan as a mark of royal favour  
257.

Cambridge History of India—Rapson, Vol.  
I. on Dāsa chief living in pūras 23;  
monarchy as a well-established insti-  
tution in the R̥gvedic Age 25; rejection  
of Zimmer's view that the grāma was  
a clan standing between the family and  
the tribe 25 fn.; pūras as meaning  
earthwork fortifications and not towns  
28; no mention of the use of the horse  
in war in the R̥gveda 38; Vedic Indian  
very little of a navigator 67, 68; origin  
of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa in the  
later Brāhmaṇa period 81; the nature  
of royal ownership of land 83-87; no  
see-borne commerce with Babylon in the  
Brāhmaṇa period 162; relations of King  
Cyrus of Persia with the tribes on the  
right bank of the Indus 163; Indian  
tribes subject to Assyrian kings 163;  
different districts having different laws  
of inheritance 193-94; caste was no  
bar to mobility of labour both vertical  
and horizontal in the Jātaka period 248;

the large size of ships mentioned in the Jātakas 260.

Chāndogya Upaniṣad—Trans. into Eng. by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. series Vol. I. on the dearness of salt owing to its importation from a distant place 34, 158 fn.; house and fields as instances of private wealth 82; 85; transferrability of houses and fields 85; royal gift of a village to Raikka 89, 173; famine 96; vasana (cloth) 116; gold 123; other metals: silver, lead, tin and loha 123; lavaṇa (borax) 123; softening of gold by means of borax 124—25; alaṅkāra 127 fn.; necklace 128—29; loha 131; softening of silver by means of gold, of tin by means of silver, of lead by means of tin and of loha by means lead 131; hatchet 132; pair of nail scissors (kāraṣṇāyasam) 132; bell metal (kāṇṣya) vessels 133; parigha 145; fisherman 151; kings Aśvapati and Pravahana Jāvāla disputing with and instructing Brahmins in the lore of the Brahmā 156; a Brahmin imparting knowledge to a Sūdra, accepting his presents and taking his daughter for his wife 156; Satyakāma Jāvāla of humble origin was accepted by a priest as a pupil and afterwards became founder of a school of the Yajurveda 156; high-roads (māhapatha) 159; setu (raised bank for crossing inundated land) 160 fn.; āvasatha (structure of some sort for the reception of guests) 168 fn.; perfumes 176; liberality of Janaśruti 173.

Chips from a German Workshop—F. Max Muller, Vol. I. Vedic idol-worship (sculpture) 37; absence of the caste system in the R̥gvedic Age 58.

Chullavagga—Trans. into Eng. by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series vols. XVII and XX. on the sale of land 192; description of farming operations 198; monks combing cotton and making the cotton up into pillows 219; cholaka (handkerchief) 220; bolsters of five kinds 220; mosquito curtain, etc. 220; pallanka (high class bedstead) 222; bench long enough to accommodate three persons 222; āsandi 222; āsandaka 222; sattango (sofa) 222; sofa with arms to it 222; arm-chair 222; bhadda-piṭham (state chair) 222; vithikā (cushioned chair) 222; elaka-padaka-piṭham (chair raised on a pedestal) 223; āmalakavaṇṭika-piṭham (chair with many legs) 223; cocchham (cane-bottomed chair) 223; straw-bottomed chair 223; supervision of building construction as one of the duties of the Buddhist Order 281; five kinds of abodes allowed to Buddhist monks 231; selection of building site 232; extensively built houses described 232; period taken in building some of the big houses 232; compound of houses enclosed with ramparts of three kinds 233; description of gateways 233, five kinds of roofing 233; floors of houses 233, doors, 233-34; windows 234; adjustable shutters for windows 234; flight of stairs 234 fn.; monks allowed to use a loom and all the apparatus belonging to a loom 246; the despised callings 249.

Civic and National Ideals—Sister Niveditā on civic consciousness in the age of the Rāmāyana 148.

Civilisation in Ancient India—R. C. Dutt



on the derivation of Ārya from a root (kr̥s) which means to cultivate 28.

Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages—Dr. Caldwell on Dravidian words in the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings and Chronicles of the Old Testament suggesting that the two words concerned formed the chief article of trade between the early Indians and the Jews 91; trade between early Indians and the Greeks 260.

Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System—Dr. U. N. Ghosal on *hiranya* meaning cash charge upon certain special classes of crops 88.

## D

Das Alte Indien—Von Bohlen, Vol. I on early trade between India and Arabia 71–72.

Der Rigveda—Ludwig Vol. I. on the judicial function of the village *sabhā* in the R̥gvedic Age 26; *pāpi*'s (merchants) 74; *anūka* as adverb and not as an ornament 51; *hvarā* in R̥gveda 1. 180. 3. meaning a wooden vessel and not a snake or a thief 53 fn.

Dhammapada—Trans. into Eng. by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. Series Vol. X. on channels dug for co-operative irrigation of fields 200.

Dhammapada Commentary on cattle rearing 211; female slaves waiting upon queens and performing such duties as buying flowers for them 252; undischarged slave cannot enter into the Buddhist order 253; woman working as the keeper of a paddy field and parching the heads of rice 256; woman working as keeper of burning grounds

though no wages are mentioned 256; woman working as an acrobat 256; woman working as a dancer and singer 256; courtesans having their serving maids 257; taverns for the sale of liquor 256.

Dialogues of the Buddha—Trans. into Eng. by T. W. Rhys Davids in four Vols. on Ukkat̥ṭha city 183; Buddha did not accept slaves from anybody 253; undischarged slaves not eligible for the *pavajja* ordination 253; female dancers and singers 256.

Die Indogermanen—Hermann Hert, Vol. I. on the original Aryan stock having acquaintance with agriculture long before their migration into different lands 22.

Digest of Hindu Law—Colebrooke on conditions of apprenticeship as given by Gautama 245; and by Kātyāyana 245.

Digha Nikāya on the cities of Vārāṇasī, 180, Champā 180, Dantapura on the Kalinga coast 180-81. 262, Māhissati 181, Mithilā 182, Potana 182 and Roruka, capital of Sovīra 182, 262; description of an open-air bathing tank 234; voyages out of sight of land 258.

Disquisition on Ancient India—Robertson on the Arabian-Indian branch of Phœnician trade 10.

Divyāvadāna—Text critically edited by E. B. Cowell & Neil on the cities of Brahmottara 180, Nandana 182, Romanaka 182 and Sadāmatta 182.

Dwīpavaṃśa on glass pinnacle placed on the top of the Ruanwelle dagoba by Suidaitissa in the second century B. C. and on a glass mirror in the third century B. C. 135.



## E

- Early History of India—V. A. Smith on the origin of the city of Pātaliputra 184.
- Early History of Kauśāmvī—N. N. Ghosh on the identification of Sahajāti with the ruins now existing at Bhitā, about eight miles from Allahabad 264 fn.
- Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools—Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt on lands gifted away 192.
- Enquiry into India, An—Alberuni (Eng. Trans. by Sachau) on the identification of Suvarṇa island with the islands of the Malaya Archipelago 162 fn.
- Epigraphica Indica (vol. I) on pāda as a metallic standard 167; (vol. II) on forests as elephant-preserves 204 fn.
- Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine—Royle on *Myrrh*—Egyptian *bal*—Sans. *ṭota* 21—22; Arabian—Indian branch of the Phœnician trade 70.
- Explorations in Sind—N. G. Mazumdar on Limbi in Kathiawar as an outpost of Indus civilisation 16; wider diffusion of Indus civilisation in Western Sind between the Indus and the Khirthar range 11.

## G

- Gautama—Trans. into Eng. by George Buhler in the S. B. E. series vol. II. on unenclosed land used by all for grazing cattle, obtaining firewood, gathering flowers and getting fruits 190; private ownership of land 191; modes of aquisition of property 191; acquiring property by usage 192—93; law of inheritance and succession 194—95; royal share of the produce 196;

forest as the habitation of hermits 203; all treasure-trove belongs to the king 210, 276; exception to this rule 210—11, 276; guild of herdsmen 242, of money-lenders 242, 275, of cultivators 242 and of traders 242; rigidity of the caste system 244, 277; legislative functions of guilds 244; conditions of apprenticeship 245; the condemned professions 249; Āpaddharma 250; Brahmins permitted to barter home-grown corn, food etc., 267; toleration of money-lending 274; six different kinds of interest 275; five māṣā's a month for twenty kārṣāpaṇas as the legal rate of interest 275; king's duty to protect the property of infants and also to maintain the śtrotriyas, the weak, the aged, women without means and lunatics 276; property of a Brahmin who leaves no issue to be divided among the Brahmins but the king appropriates in such cases the property of men of other castes 276; anybody who finds a treasure-trove gets one-sixth 276; artisans to work for the king for one day in the month 276—77; scale of royal taxation 277.

Geography—Ptolemy on the identification of Yavadwīpa with Java 162 fn,

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (and the Atharvaveda)—M. Bloomfield on beef-eating 111; Kauśāmveya, one belonging to the city of Kośāmvī 181 fn.

Govila Gṛhyasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. series vol. XXX on the rotation of crops 91, 200; depicting life in the village 186; ceremonies connected with agriculture 199; rules on house-building 235.

### Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce—

J. Yeats on the high antiquity of the silk industry of China 162.

Guide to Taxila—Sir John Marshall on circumstances leading to the growth of the city of Taxila 184.

## H

Herodotus—Rawlinson on 360 Eubolic talents of gold-dust paid as tribute by the Indian satrapy of Darius 280; Indian army of Xerxes armed with iron-headed arrows 214.

Hibbert Lectures for 1887 on the Origin and Growth of Religion among the Babylonians—Dr. Sayce on commerce between India and Babylon as early as 800 B. C. 17.

Hiranyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. Series Vol. XXX. on rules and rites on house-building 235.

Historians' History of the World (Vol. I) on trade and the articles of trade between India and the Western world (Assyria, Babylon etc.) 163—64; (Vol. II) on the Arabian-Indian branch of the Phœnician trade 70.

Historical Researches—Heeren on the derivation of Abyssinia from Aboasin, a classical name of the Indus 19; trade between ancient India and Egypt 20; trade between ancient India and Arabia 71.

History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature—F. Max Muller on various kinds of priests 239.

History of Ancient Del Orient—Eng. Ed. (Vol. II) on trade between ancient India and Egypt via Yemen 18, 72; trade

between ancient India and Arabia 71-72.

History of Antiquity—Max Duncker on trade between early Indians and Sabæans on the coast of S. Arabia before the tenth Century B. C. 72.

History of Aryan Rule in India—E. B. Havell on the antiquity and origin of town-planning in ancient India 145-46; growth of villages into towns 183-84.

History of Commerce—Dr. Day on Phœnician commerce and its Arabian-Indian branch 69.

History of Sanskrit Literature—A. Macdonald on the absence of horse-riding in the R̥gvedic age 38; brāhmaṇa in the sense of a man of the first varṇa occurring only eight times in the R̥gveda while in the sense of sage or officiating priest occurring forty-six times 59; composition of the Rāmāyaṇa before 500 B. C. 81; date of Kātyāyana 245.

Hymns of the Atharvaveda—M. Bloomfield on opāśa as a coverlet for women (orṇā) 51 fn.

## I

Illustrated London News (Feb. 27 and March 7, 1926; Jan. 7 and 14, 1928) on Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus valley 12—16.

Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol. II) on Neolithic graves 6; Piprawah stupa (450 B. C.) 214, 236,

India in Greece—Pococke on colonisation of Ethiopia by Indians 18—19; on the points of similarity between the sculpture and architecture of ancient India and ancient Egypt 20.

India and the Western World—Rawlinson on supposed Babylonian influence on Hindu Astronomy 73.

Indian Antiquary (Vol. VIII)—T. Foulkes on trade between Ancient Indians and the Jews 71; trade between ancient India and Egypt 21; existence of a sea-route between India and Persian coasts in the days of the Buddha 261. (Vol. XI) Prof. Ball on trade between early Indians and the Jews 70-71; explanation of the story of the gold-digging ants 210. (Vol. XIII) on trade between Ancient India and Egypt via Yemen 18. (Vol. XXX) Mr. Fawcett on the sculptures on the Edakal Cave, Wynaad 5 fn. (Vols. XXXIV and XXXVI) V. A. Smith on no Bronze Age in India 7; on the copper and prehistoric implements of India 7; (Indian Antiquary, 1896) kings seem to have kept granaries for emergencies like war and famine 276.

Indian Village Community—Baden Powell on Aryan lands being cultivated by the conquered aborigenes 64.

Indica—Ktesias on dogs, onyxes and other precious stones as articles of trade between India and Babylon 162-63; description of the Indian *lākṣā* (cochineal) 164; *karpion* (= *karpura*) 260.

Indica—Arrian on fifty-eight rivers of India 200; method of capturing elephants, the precursor of the modern 'khedā' system 212; oilflasks made of leather 226; white leather-shoes 226; earring made of ivory 228.

Indische Alterthumskunde—C. Lassen Book I. on early trade between India and Arabia 71-72; on the Sans-

krit name *ibha* reaching Egypt through Tyre and becoming Egyptian *ebu* 21; elephants neither used nor tamed in ancient Egypt 21.

Indische Studien—Weber on the absence of caste in the R̥gvedic Age 58; on liberality of princes in the Brāhmaṇa period 173; *sadasya* (a priest) 239.

Industrial Competition of Asia—C. Daniell on the nature of ancient Indian foreign trade 280.

Introduction to the History of Religion—Jevons on the cultivation of plants as one of women's contributions to civilisation 154.

## J

Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa—text edited with Eng. Trans. by H. Oertel on *paryanka* 138; *methi* (pillar) 145 fn.; king becoming a seer 153.

Jātakas, the (Fausball's edition):—

Abhayantara: (No. 281) on iron nets 216; resting place for travellers 230.

Ahitundika (No. 365) on snake-charmer 241; grain merchants 265.

Akālārāvi (No. 119) on Udicca Brahmins 238.

Akirti Jātaka (No. 480) on Kāveripattanam in the Drāviḍa country 181; leaves of Indravaruṇi tree 201.

Alamyusā (No. 523) on golden comb 218; *gonako* (blankets made of goat's hair) 222; *paryanka* 223; dice-board 223.

Alinachitta (No. 156) on village of carpenters 187, 224, 243; forests supplying



- fuel and timber 203; sātaka 219; kṣauma 221; angavidyāpāṭhakas 239; carpenter 240.
- Ananuśocaniya (No. 328) on a life-like golden image of a girl 217, 237.
- Anabhirati (No. 185) on pearls 212; liquor-shops 227; senior pupils acting as assistant master 245.
- Andhabhūta (No. 62) on camphor 203, 278; camphor tree 204; golden dice-board 217; golden dice 217; royal high priest 242; incense merchants 265.
- Ādipta (No. 424) on Roruka, capital of Sovira 182; Raurava (= Roruka) as a port of departure 262.
- Āmra (No. 124) on dropa, droṇī 223; Udicca Brahmins 238; magician's tricks 239; Chāṇḍāla village 243, 248.
- Āmra (No. 474) on Chāṇḍāla village 186.
- Āmracora (No. 344) on hair-dye 278.
- Ārāmadūṣaka (No. 46) on watering of plants by the gardener 213; wooden tubs or buckets for watering plants 223; leather made receptacle for sprinkling water on plants 227.
- Avikṣṇa (No. 27) on gates of Śrāvastī 182.
- Apāṇaka (No. 1) on Vārāṇasī 180; necklace of gems 218; coverlet 219; caravan traders: their organisation, mode and habits of life etc. 262-63, 267; dealer's sense of the wear and tear of articles 266; selling at a price fixed by his predecessor 266; ointment 278.
- Asadīśa (No. 181) on adjustable sword 214; gold plates worth a lac pieces 217; saṃghāti 219; kañchuka (overcoat) 219; screen (śāni) 220; leather-case for (keeping) sword 227; bows made from the horn of sheep 229; conventional 18 śilpa's taught 239.
- Asampradāna (No. 131) on slaves being gifted away 253; slaves helping their ex-masters in distress 254; āḍhaka (a kind of measure) 272; māna (a kind of measure) 7272.
- Aśātarūpa (No. 100) on drainage of Benares 180.
- Aśilakṣaṇa (No. 126) on a woman working as an astrologer 256.
- Asitābhū, Asikābhū, Asitānubhūtā (No. 234) on krakaca (saw) 215.
- Asthisena (No. 403) on kuṭikāra-sikṣāpada 230.
- Aśyaka (No. 207) Potali city in Kāśī kingdom and its gates 182.
- Avārya (No. 376) on payment of tax in cash 197; ferryman 241; ferryman advised to settle the fare by bargaining 250-51.
- Ayogṛha (No. 510) on the uncertainty of human life compared to the uncertainty of the cloth of the drunkard 227; iron-pillars used in the construction of a house 230.
- Bāveru (No. 1339) on India's trade with Babylon earlier than 400 B. C. 162; golden cage 217; export of peacock by Indian merchants to Babylon 260, 262; the use of diśākāka for the guidance of pilots 262; partnership in the deal in birds from India to Babylon 267.
- Bhadraśāla (No. 465) on town-planning of Kośala capital 185; iron net 216; one pillared palace 224; use of the wooden pillar in the construction of houses 230; saṃsthāgāra (town hall) 231; sons born of a slave girl by a free man hardly regarded as free 253.
- Bhallāṭika (No. 504) on aguru (aloe) 203, 278, Śāla tree 204; flower trees and plants like Karṇikārā 206, Añkola 206; Sattali, Navamallikā, Mādhavi 206, Yuthikā 206, Kuruvaka 207, Pātali 207; Sindhuvarā (= Niṣindā) 207.

- Bherivāda (No. 59) on trumpet-blowers 241.
- Bhīmasena (No. 80) on gates of Benares 180; Benares famous for scents 180; Benares famous for textile fabrics 180, 220; town-planning of Benares 185; weavers' ward in Benares 220, 244, Udicca Brahmins inheriting a stricter standard 231; conventional 18 śilpa's taught at Benares and Taxila 239; boy-servant 241.
- Bhojājāneya (No. 23) on swords 214; armour 214; gold plate worth a lac pieces 217; canopy decorated with golden stars 220; screen made of raktakamvala 221.
- Bhūridatta (No. 543) on earring 218; uṣṇīṣa 219; masūraka, seat covered with gadi 220 fn.; shoes made of cloth woven with threads of different colours and decorated with gold 221; preparation of salt by the evaporation of seawater 229; viṣavaidyas (curer of poisonous bites) 229; people not following caste professions 246; betting with big sums 278; debtors flying to the forest or attempting to commit suicide to escape from the clutches of their creditors 279.
- Bisa (No. 488) on āvāsika (caretaker of houses) 231.
- Brahmadatta (No. 323) on umbrella made of leaves 225; one-soled shoe 226; leather undergarment 226; leather upper garment 226; kutikāra-sikṣāpada 230.
- Chakravāka (No. 451) on Rohita fish 212; Pāṭhina fish 212; Vāluka (= Bele ?) fish 212; Pāvuṣa (= Kālavāyuṣa) fish 212; Munja (Mirgela ?) fish 212.
- Chandrakinnara (No. 485) on puṣpapāṭa (cloth with flowers embroidered on it) 200; flute or pipe 225.
- Chaturdvāra (No. 439) on crystal palace 228; dangers of sea-voyages described 258; ship striking a hidden rock in mid-ocean 258.
- Chāampeya (No. 506) on Śāla tree 204; Karpikāra flower tree 206; Pātali flower tree 207; Āmra tree 207; Jamvu (blackberry) tree 208; earring set with jewels 218; keyūra (bracelet on the upper arm) 218; dug-outs 272; snake-charmer 241; Brāhmaṇa as snake-charmer 246.
- Chedi (No. 422) on Svātivatī city in the Chedi kingdom 183; royal high priest 242.
- Chitrasambhūta (No. 498) on Avantī city 183; Chāṇḍāla village 186, 243, 248; coverlet for chariot with designs on it 219; sight of a Chāṇḍāla forebodes evil 249; even food seen by a Chāṇḍāla is not to be taken 249.
- Chullakāśreṣṭhi (No. 4) on linen flax 202; chīvara (dress of the Buddhist monks) made by the monks themselves 219; kāyavandhana 219; tent 221; grass-cutter 240; attendant 241; marriage of a slave with a free woman hardly improved his status 253; navigability of the Ganges by crafts of considerable size right up to Benares 264; cornering in hay 266; dealing in futures 266; corporate purchase of a ship's cargo by many merchants 266; case of barter 267; kākanika (a medium of exchange) 268; kārṣāpapa (a medium exchange) 268; signet rings as deposit or security (satyañkāra) 271; eight kārṣāpapas as cart-hire from Benares to the port near by 273.

- Chullanandika (No. 222) on Brahmin working as hunter 246.
- Chullapadma (No. 193) on gates of Benares 180.
- Dadhivāhana (No. 187) on paraśu (axe) 215; vāsi-paraśu 215; screen made of silk-cloth 221.
- Durddada (No. 180) on corporate life in Benares 186; Karpikāra flower tree 206; Kaptakurāṇḍa flower tree 206; cloth dyed in yellow with karpikāra flower 229; cloth dyed in blue with kaptakurāṇḍa flower 229.
- Daśabrāhmaṇa (495) on fruit trees: Āmra 207, Jamvu 208, Vilva 208, Vadarī 208, Haritaki 208, Āmalakī 208, Vibhitaka 208; Piyāla 208, and Lakuca 208; condemnation of Brahmins engaged in tillage and other callings 238, 243; forest-guard 241; Brahmins working as physician, goatherd, merchant, charioteer, agriculturist, meat-seller, caravan-guard, hunter, dealer in fruits, ornaments etc., 246; caravans electing their chief and appointing caravan-guard for safety 263.
- Daśaratha (No. 461) on sandals made of grass 225.
- Daśārṇa (No. 401) on Daśārṇaka famous for her swords 215; magician's tricks 239.
- Devadharmā (No. 6) on Vārāṇasī city 180; tent 221; paryanka 222.
- Dharmadhvaṇja (No. 384) on sufferings of mariners due to shipwreck in midocean 258; the use of diśākāka for the guidance of pilots at sea 262.
- Dhūmkārī (No. 413) on enclosed pasture 190; goatherd 240; Brahmin working as goatherd 246.
- Durājāna (No. 64) on customary fixed price: meek as a 100 piece slave-girl 266; kārṣāpaṇa 268; 100 kārṣāpaṇas, pre-

- sumably of silver as the customary price of a slave-girl 273.
- Durmedha (No. 123) on conventional 18 śilpa's taught 239.
- Durvalakāṣṭha (No. 105) on crowbar 215; hand-punkhā 225.
- Dyūta (No. 260) on gold vessels 216; golden bedstead 217; payment of tuition fees after the completion of studies obtained by begging 239; 14 niṣkas as fee paid to the teacher 245; 272; niṣka (a medium of exchange) 269.
- Ekaparṇa (No. 149) on Vaiśālī city, 183; Udicca Brāhmīns 238; cowherd 240; aśvapālaka 240; hastipālaka 240.
- Ekarāja (No. 303) on string loop (śikya 225.
- Gaṇḍatindu (No. 520) on rājakammika (tax-collector) 117; leather-case for (keeping) sword 227; Valipratigrāhaka (tax-collector) 242; half a māṣaka as the daily wage of a female water-carrier 272—73; oppressive taxation 279.
- Gangamāla (No. 421) on a daylabourer and his ladylove drinking wine together 227; wages of free labourers settled by higgling and haggling 250; the gay though frivolous life of the day labourer described 251; day labourers were sometimes paid in board and lodging 251; slaves treated as members of the family and living virtuous lives 254; woman working as water-carrier 256; quarter kārṣa and half a kārṣa as media of exchange 268.
- Garga (No. 155) on omen readers 239; valipratigrāhaka 242; Brahmin as hawker 246; small traders carrying their goods from village to village on their own heads 265.



- Gāndhāra (No. 406) on Mithilā 182; caravan trade 262—63.
- Ghaṭa (No. 454) on Asitāñjana city 180; Uttara Mathurā 183; hares made of brass, silver and gold 216; hare made of stone 228; hare made of coral and precious stones 229, 237; washerman 240; wrestler 241; Dvārāvati as a port of departure 262.
- Giridanta (No. 184) on aśvanivandhika 240.
- Godhā (No. 325) on ādraka (ginger) 202; jiraka (cumin-seed) 202; marica 202; pippali (pepper) 202; cloth dyed red 229.
- Gṛdhra (No. 164) on walls surrounding Benares city 180.
- Gṛhapati (No. 199) on the misconduct of a village headman 188; corporate loan by villagers 189; sufferings caused by famine in a Kāśī village 280.
- Grāmaṇīchaṇḍa (No. 257) on paryanka 222; mat 224; vāstu-vidyācārya 230; nalakāra 240; kārṣāpaṇa 263; 24 kārṣāpaṇas as the price of a pair of ox 273.
- Guṇa (No. 157) on nivāsana 219; prāvarāṇa 219; seats made of cloth 220; pādapuñchhanam 220; Benares cotton cloth fetching a 1000 pieces 220; monks dying their chīvara 229; cloth dyed in yellow with karṇikāra flower 229; sātakas worth 1000 pieces of copper 274.
- Guptila (No. 243) on ācārya 239; caravan trade 262—63.
- Harimāta = Haritamanduka (No. 239) on catching fish in a cage-like structure of cane or bamboo-splints called kumina 212, 225.
- Hastipāla (No. 509) on royal high priest 242.
- Illisa (No. 78) on Śarkarā, a nigama near Rājagṛha 182; bhastā (cloth-made bags to store up grains) 221; stool 222; basket 224; changotaka (small basket) 225; liquor-cup 225, 227; dried fish taken along with liquor 227; surā 227; a glass of ordinary wine was worth only one māśā 228; seven-storyed houses 230; māśaka and suvarṇa as media of exchange 268, 269; a cup of surā was worth only one kārṣāpaṇa 273.
- Indrasamānagotra (No. 161) on sayyāphalaka 222; pitcher 225.
- Indriya (No. 423) on Brahmin working as hunter 246.
- Jarudapāna (No. 256) on metals: iron, copper, lead, tin, silver and gold 209; vaiduryamaṇi 209; pearls 212; guild of caravan traders 242; concerted commercial enterprise by merchants of Śrāvastī 267.
- Javanahamṣa (No. 476) on mat 224.
- Jayaddviṣa (No. 513) on foundation of Khullakalmāsa city by a king 183; increase of royal domain by colonisation 191; forests as the habitation of Aṭaviya 203—04; forest-guard 241.
- Kakkara (No. 209) on Aśvakarṇa tree 204; Vibhitaka tree 208; catching birds in traps with the help of decoy birds 212; traps made of wool for catching birds 221.
- Kalanduka (No. 127) on run away slaves 236.
- Kalingavodhi (No. 479) on Dantapura city 181, 262; Śākala city 182; lāñchhanamudrā (seal) 216.
- Kandagalaka (No. 210) on Khadira tree 204.
- Kaṇavera (No. 318) on nagarapāla 242; the serving maids of courtesans 257; 1000 kārṣāpaṇas per night as the fee of a courtesan 272.

Kapota (No. 42) on ādraka (ginger) 202; jiraka (cumin seed) 202; colander 215; cage-like structure made of straw for birds to live in 225; cook 241.

Karkata (No. 267) on fork 215.

Katāhaka (No. 125) on wooden plank used as a slate for writing 223; run away slaves 256; wooden spoon 223; slaves as valet or footman to his master's son or as store-keeper to his master 252; slave-girl's son patted and permitted to learn writing and handicrafts 254; slaves fed on a slave's fare and at the slightest fault beaten, branded and imprisoned 254—55.

Kauśāmvī (No. 428) on loṇakāra (manufacturer of salt) 229, 240.

Kāka (No. 140) on gold vessels 216.

Kālavāhu (No. 329) on golden cage 217; golden cup for a bird 217.

Kāma (No. 466) on the extension of arable land by fresh clearance of forests 190; survey of the fields by royal officers 196; uparājā (vicerealty) 197; valisādhaka (tax-collector) 197; irrigation 200.

Kāmanīta (No. 228) on gold plate worth a lac pieces 217; bhūtavaidya (conjurer of evil spirits) 241.

Kāmaṇilāpa (No. 297) on Benares famous for textile fabrics 189; Benares famous for sātaka 220.

Kāśāya (No. 221) on town-planning of Benares city 185; corporate life of the citizens of Rājagṛha 186; decision of the majority prevailed in the village council 189 fn.; ivory 203; gandha-kāśāya sātaka 219-20; ivory bangles 228; ivory-workers' ward in Benares 228; 244; cloth dyed in golden colour 229; dantakāra (ivory-worker) 240.

Kāṣṭhāhāri (No. 1) on finger-ring 218.

Keśava (No. 346) on scented rice (śali) 271.

Khadirāṅgāra (No. 40) on gates of Benares city 180; brazen vessels 216; seven-storeyed houses 230; innapannani (= I. O. U.) 271, 275; the debtors getting back the I. O. U. when the loan was paid back 275.

Khaṇḍapāla (No. 54) on Benares famous for her textiles 180, 220; agara 203; 18; Karpikāra flower plant 206; Aśoka flower tree 207; Pātali flower tree 207; Āmra tree 207; sword 214; golden trappings for horses 217; earring 218; keyūra (bracelet for the upper arm) 218; golden bangles set with pearls and precious stones 218; bow made from the horn of sheep 229; snāpaka (bath-attendant) 242; arthadharmānūsāsaka 242; viniścayāmātya (judge) 242.

Kharamvara (No. 79) on a border village in Kośala 187; village headman appointed by the king 183; misconduct of the village headman 188; revenue collector of a frontier village 197.

Kharaputra (No. 386) on performer of spells 241.

Khulladhanurgraha (No. 374) on kāmśya sthālī 216; sthālī 225.

Khullahamśa (No. 533) on villages inhabited solely by hunters 183; niśāda 240; villages inhabited solely by fowlers 243.

Khullakalinga (No. 301) on Dantapura city on the Kalinga coast 181, 262; Potali city in the Aśwaka kingdom 182.

Khullnārada (No. 477) on śimula or cotton-silk 202; Śimula or cotton-silk tree 204; cloth stiffened with starch 229—30; karamara, a person captured by robbers and reduced by them to slavery 252.



- Khullavodhi (No. 443) on *chīvara* (dress of the Buddhist monks) made by the monks themselves 219.
- Kimphhando (No. 511) on *Nīpa* (= *Kadamva*) flower tree 206; *kirita* (tiara for the head) 217; *keyūra* (bracelet for the upper arm) 218; *angada* (bracelet for the upper arm) 218; royal high priest 242.
- Kimśukopama (No. 248) on *Kimśuka* flower tree 206.
- Komāyaputra (No. 299) on a two-storeyed palace 230.
- Kouśeyi (No. 130) on copper vessels 216.
- Kṛṣṇa (No. 29) on *kārṣāpapa* as a medium of exchange 268; 24 *kārṣāpapas* as the price of a pair of ox 273; a young calf sufficient for house rent for a certain period 273; two *kārṣāpapas* as the hire for an ox in carrying a cart across a shallow river 273.
- Kṛṣṇa (No. 440) on the leaves of *Indravaruṇi* tree 201.
- Kṛṣṇadvaiṇāyana (No. 444) on the drainage system of Kosambi city 181; *krakaca* (a saw) 215.
- Kṣhāntivādi (No. 313) on *lākṣā* (lac) 203.
- Kṣhurapra (No. 265) on forests as the habitation of the *Aṭaviyas* 203—04; caravans appointing forest-guards for safety 263.
- Kuddāla (No. 70) on *parṇika* (grower of green vegetables) 201, 239; *alāvu* (gourd) 201; *kuṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin) 201; cucumber 201; *śāka* (potherbs) 201; spade 215; thatched house 230.
- Kukku (No. 396) on wooden pillars used in the construction of houses 230.
- Kakkura (No. 22) on leather coverlet for chariots 226; leather-made fittings of chariots 226; *tuḷā* (scale) used by way of a simile 271.
- Kulāyaka (No. 31) on the corporate life of villagers 188—89; tent 221; *phalakāsana* (bench) 222; *dharmaśālā* 230; persons reduced to slavery for their crimes 252.
- Kulmāṣapīṇḍa (No. 415) on garland-maker 241; guild of garland-makers 242.
- Kumbha (No. 512) on *chāṭi* (vat) 226.
- Kumbhakāra (No. 408) on Dantapura city 181, 262; Kāmpilya city 181; Mithilā city 182.
- Kuṇḍaka-kukṣi-saindhava (No. 254) on gold *sthāli* 216; *sātaka* 219; canopy decorated with golden stars 220; screen 220; *sthavikā* (purse) 220; *śānī* (screen) 220; carpets 221.
- Kuṇḍāla (No. 536) on rivers dammed for purposes of irrigation 200; *māluva* (a kind of sweet potatoes) 201; sandalwood 203; *trees*: *Tirita*, *Kuṭaja*, *Śāla*, *Tilaka*, *Bhūrjja*, *Muchilinda* 204; *Kuravaka*, *Chetasa*, *Bajuda*, *Punnāga*, *Priyaka*, *Āsana*, *Śarala*, *Kārāgula*, *Padmaka*, *Devadāru*, *Kakudha* = *Kakubha* = *Arjuna*, *Kachchikāra*, *Tuna*, *Kaṇavera*, *Koraṇḍa*, *Kovidāra*, *Anangana*, *Anavajja*, *Surichir*, *Bhaginī*, *Dhanukārika*, *Tāliśa*, *Koṭṭa* 205; *Cocha* 206; *flower trees*: *Karṇikāra*, *Kimśuka*, *Añkola*, *Atimukta*, *Yodhi* (= *Yuthikā*), *Ketaki* and *Vakula* 206; *Champaka*, *Aśoka*, *Nāgarukha* (= *Nāgakesāra*), *Vanamallikā*, *Tagara*, *Bhaṇḍi* (= *Gheṇṭu*), *Jāti* and *Sumanā* 207; *Sandalwood*, *Priyanga* and *Usīra* (= *Khaskhas*) 209; silver 209; *haritāla* (yellow orpiment) 209; *manahśilā* 209; *hingulaka* 209; *maṇikāra* 217, 240; *phalakāsana* (bench) 222; *pupph-chhaddak* (sweeper) 241.
- Kuṇḍaka-pūpa (No. 109) on the corporate life of the citizens of Śrāvastī 185—86; on free labourers living from hand to



- mouth 251; udanka (= Pali Ulunka), a measure for liquids 271.
- Kuranga-mīga (No. 21) on methods of hunting 211.
- Kuru = Bharu (No. 213) on architect 240.
- Kurudharma (No. 276) on Dantapura city on the Kalinga coast 181, 262; Indapattha city 181; Brahmin village 187, 243; land of ordinary landholders as distinguished from royal domain 191; royal share of the produce 196; survey of fields by royal officers 196; public granary 197; essence of sandal-wood 203; golden necklace worth 1000 pieces 218, 274; royal high priest 242; rajjuka (surveyer) 243; measurer of corn 242; essence of sandal-wood worth a lac pieces 274, 278; suffering caused by famine in Kalinga 279—80.
- Kuśa (No. 531) on Śākala city 182; sandal-wood powder as a toilette for the breasts 203, 279; sandal-wood oil 203, 278; golden image of a girl 217, 237; necklace of niṣka coins 218; mekhalā 218; cloth embroidered with gold 219; earthen pots with female figures engraved on them 226; earthen dolls for children 226; painted punkhā 237; karmāra (smith) 240; nalakāra 240; guild of smiths 242; industrial apprentice 245; prince apprenticing himself in succession as a potter, basket-maker, florist etc., without any social degradation 247; prince fashioning a golden image 247; Brahmin taking as his wife the childless wife of a king without losing his caste 248; niṣka 269; kalka 278, 278 fn.
- Kuśanāli (No. 121) on an one-pillared palace 224; use of the wooden pillar in the construction of houses 230.
- Kūṭavāṇij (No. 218) on arthadharmānuśāsaka 242; viniścayāmātya (judge) 242; partnership of two traders of Śrāvastī 267 and of two traders of Benares 267.
- Lakṣaṇa (No. 11) on protection of the crops 199; method of hunting 211.
- Lāṅguleṣā (No. 123) on ācārya 239.
- Lāṅguṣṭha (No. 144) on Udicca Brahmins 238.
- Lola (No. 274) on cage-like structure made of straw for birds to live in 225; cook 241.
- Lośaka (No. 41) on Gambhīrāpattana 181, 262; corporate life in the village 189; kānsāra 216; a seven-storeyed crystal palace 228; ācārya being maintained by the guardians of the children taught 239; distress of mariners when their ship struck a rock in mid-ocean 253.
- Louhakumbhī (No. 314) on iron jar 215.
- Madiyaka (No. 390) on Benares famous for her textile fabrics 180, 220.
- Mahāhaṃsa (No. 534) on Benares famous for her textile fabrics 180, 220; golden seat (Pāli kochchha) 217; changoṭaka (small basket) 225.
- Mahājanaka (No. 539) on Champā city surrounded by a wall pierced with gates with towers over them 180; Mithilā city 182; town-planning of Mithilā 185; description of the manufacture of arrows 214; illī (small sword) 215; bracelet on the lower arm 218; Kauṭamvara famous for her cloth 221; blankets made of goat's hair 222; description of wooden sandals 224; winnowing basket 225; ship containing seven caravans with their beasts 259; sea-voyage to Suvarṇabhūmi (= Burma ?) 261; pearls, gems and diamonds as exports from India to Burma 262; navigability of

- the Ganges by crafts of considerable size from Champā down to the sea 264.
- Mahākapi (No. 516) on Prahmin peasant 238, 246.
- Mahākapi (No. 467) on chaitya 231.
- Mahākṛṣṇa (No. 469) on Brahmins working as robbers 246.
- Mahāmangala (No. 453) on Saṃthāgāra (town hall) 231; omen-readers 239.
- Mahāmayūra (No. 491) on peṭikā (wooden boxes) 223—24.
- Mahāpingala (No. 240) on hammer 215; crushing the subjects with taxation like sugarcane in a mill 279.
- Mahānāradaśāyapa (No. 544) on women working as water-carriers 256; merchantship going to the bottom of the sea 258; tulā (scale) used by way of a simile 271; sarṣapakalka 278—79.
- Mahāsāra (No. 92) on female slaves looking after the jewels of the ladies in the royal harem 252; a man who has never seen (i.e., used) in his life a chair or a bed-stead 279.
- Mahāśīlavaja (No. 51) on gates of Benares city 180; sword 214; gold drinking-pot 216; gold vase 216; gold box for keeping scents 217; pillows 220; chatur-jātiya gandha 278, 278 fn.
- Mahāsudarśana (No. 95) on Kuśināra city surrounded by a wall 181.
- Mahāsutasoma (No. 537) on Indapattha 181; Kammasadamma city growing out of a village 183; king's right of increasing the taxes at will and of remitting them 196; senior pupil acting as assistant master 245.
- Mahāswapna (No. 77) on the different divisions of a kingdom 197; vṛlhi (rice) 200; yava (barley) 201; godhūma (wheat) 201; mudga 201; māsa 201; sugarcane 201; alāvu (gourd) 201; Madhuka tree yielding Mahuā flower 207; bell-metal vessels 216; gold plate worth a lac pieces 217; stool 222; rope 225; pitcher 225; manufacture of molasses from sugarcane juice 229; Udicca Brahmins inheriting a stricter standard 238; royal high priest 242; half kārṣa and kārṣāpapa as media of exchange 268; sandal-wood worth a lac pieces 274 fn.; king's right to impose forced labour limited to the confines of his estates 275; oppressive taxation 279; a dream interpreted as foreboding famine in Kalinga 280 fn.
- Mahāśwāroha (No. 302) on Benares famous for her textile fabrics 180, 220; a border village in Kāśī 187; corporate life of villagers 189; gold vessels 216; gold vase 216; Benares cotton cloth fetching a lac pieces 220, 274; oppressive taxation 279.
- Mahānūmārga (No. 546) on Benares famous for her textile fabrics 180, 220; town-planning of Mithilā 185; foundation of village for military purposes 188; corporate life of villagers 189; Pāṭhīna (Voyāla) fish 212; armour 214; iron helmet 214; sikāya-samayā (a sword of high quality) 215; Benares cloth fetching a lac pieces 220; tanning and softening leather by the application of kṣāra 226; mason 230; kṛdāsāla 231; underground palace 232; wooden roofing of the underground palace described 233; golden image of a girl made by the royal sculptor 237; woman working as a guard over a cotton-field and spinning thread from clean cotton 256; life-like paintings of elephants, horses, chariots and various objects of natural scenery 237; karmāra (smith) 240; carpenter



- 240 ; mason 240 ; kundakāra (sculptor) 236, 240 ; carmakāra 240 ; painter 240 ; tunnavāya (tailor) 241 ; conventional 18 guilds 242 ; guild of wood-workers, of smiths, of leather-workers and of painters 242 ; ornaments of prostitutes 257 ; Dvārāvati as a port of departure 262 ; building of 300 ships 259 ; ardhamāṣaka and kārṣāpapa as media of exchange 268 ; half a māṣaka of meat was sufficient food for a lizard 273 ; eight kārṣāpapas as the price of a decent ass 273 ; Benares fabrics worth a lac pieces 274 ; scent called sarvasaṅhāraka 278.
- Mahāvaniḥ (No. 493) on Benares famous for her textile fabrics 180, 220 ; blankets 221 ; woolen shawl 221—22 ; uddiyāne ca kamvala (blankets made of the hair of udbiṣāla ?) 222 ; caravan-traders having a common chief 266 ; partnership of the traders of Śrāvastī 267.
- Mahāvodhi (No. 528) on Udicca Brahmins 238.
- Mahilāmukha (No. 26) on sthālī 225 ; hastipālaka 240.
- Mahotkrośa (No. 436) on Kadamva flower tree 206 ; tortoises 212.
- Makhādeva (No. 9) on Mithilā city 182 ; pair of pincers made of gold 217 ; barber 240.
- Manicora (No. 194) on the popular belief that famines are caused by the sins of rulers 280 fn
- Mangala (No. 87) on sātaka 219 ; peṭikā (wooden boxes) 223—24 ; Udicca Brahmins 238 ; omen readers 239.
- Mapikanṭha (No. 253) on Ālavī city 180 ; kṛṭikārasikṣāpada 230.
- Mapikundala (No. 351) on earring set with jewels 218 ; paryanka 222.
- Manoja (No. 397) on methods of hunting 211 ; hunting lion from a māchan 212 ; gold plate worth a lac pieces 217 ; golden sandals 217.
- Markaṭa (No. 173) on Tāla tree 208 ; phalakāsana (bench) 222.
- Maṣaka (No. 44) on a border village in Kāśī kingdom 187 ; tent 221.
- Matsya (No. 34) on catching fish from tanks and rivers in nets 212 ; kāya-vandhana 219 ; bathing cloth 219.
- Matsya (No. 75) on box made of sandal-wood 224 fn. ; suffering caused by famine due to the failure of rains 279.
- Matsyadāna (No. 288) on receptacles made out of the leaves of trees 225 ; māṣaka as a medium of exchange 238 ; seven māṣakas as the price of a big Rohita fish 273 ; kuṭimvaka or kuṭimvika (private landowner) 191.
- Mayūra (159) on villages inhabited solely by hunters 186, 243 ; catching peacocks in traps with the help of decoy birds 212 ; niṣāda (hunter and butcher) 240.
- Māṃsa (No. 315) on town-planning of Śrāvastī 185, 244 ; hunters going to the market with cart-loads of flesh to sell 211 ; carts 222 ; cooks' quarter in Śrāvastī 244.
- Mātīpoṣaka (No. 455) on trees : Śallakī, Kūṭaja and Visa 204, Kuruvinda (= Muthā or Vādāma tree) 208 ; keyūra (bracelet on the upper arm) 218 ; elephants made of stone 228 ; stone image of Bodhisattva as elephant 237.
- Mātanga (No. 497) on Chāṇḍāla village 186, 243, 248 ; guggulu (bdellium) 203, 278 ; gold vessels 216 ; gold pitcher 216 ; gold stick 217 ; gold sandals 217 ; seven-storied house 230 ; sight of a chāṇḍāla foreboding evil 249 ; partaking of his food even without know-



- ledge leads to social ostracism 249; chaturjātiya gandha 278, 278 fn.
- Mitrāmitra (No. 197) on cloth-made bags for keeping shoes 221.
- Mitravinda (No. 82) on a crystal palace 228.
- Mṛdulakṣaṇā (No. 66) on spade 215; sāṭaka 219; sayyāphalaka 222; wooden yoke for carrying loads (Pāli kācho or kājo) 223; basket 224; large water jar 225; drinking pot 225; thatched house 230.
- Muṇika (No. 30) on pig-culture 211.
- Nakṣatra (No. 49) on astrologers 239; soothsayers 239; omen-reader (nimitta-pāṭhaka) 239.
- Nakula (No. 165) on śreṇi-bhaṇḍana (quarrel among the guilds) 243.
- Nalinikā (No. 526) on Śāla, Tilaka and Bhūrjja trees 204; *flower trees*: Karṇikāra 206, Pāṭali 207; *fruit trees*: Āmra 207; Jamvu (blackberry) 208; earring set with jewels 218; necklace 218; mekhalā 218; Udicca Brahmins 238.
- Nanda (No. 39) on spade 215; basket 224; customary fixed price: meek as a 100 piece slave-girl 266; kārṣāpapa 266; on slaves enjoying much confidence of their masters: they were told where the master's secret treasure was kept 254.
- Nandikamṛga (No. 385) on the corporate life of the villagers 189 fn.; king's right to impose forced labour confined to the limits of his estates 276.
- Nāmasiddhika (No. 97) on slave-girls put on hire to work for others 252; and on failure to earn any wages were beaten 255.
- Nānāchhanda (No. 289) on earring set with stones 218; wooden pestle and mortar 223; winnowing basket 225; angavidyāpāṭhakas 239; royal high-priest 242; slaves consulted as to the nature of the boon the master should beg of the king 254.
- Nemi (No. 541) on a crystal palace 228; adulteration of food stuffs 266; use of false weights 266; for the royal household prices were fixed by the court-valuer without appeal 242, 266.
- Nyagrodha (No. 445) on tunnavāya (tailor) 241; guilds having a common chief who is also the royal treasurer 243; Vaiśya taking part in administration 246.
- Nyagrodhamṛga (No. 12) on the corporate life of the villagers 189 fn.; lac 203; tail of a yak 203; methods of hunting 211 fn.; king's right to impose forced labour limited to the confines of his estates 276.
- Padma (No. 261) on town-planning of Śrāvastī city 185, 244; florists' quarter of Śrāvastī 244.
- Palāśa (No. 307) on *trees*: Aśvattha and Palāśa 204.
- Palāśa (No. 370) on *trees*: Palāśa 204 and Tinduka 208.
- Palāyi (No. 229) on gates of Taxila 183.
- Pañchāudha (No. 55) on mūlā (radish) 201; chāṭi (vat) 226; angavidyā-pāṭhaka 239.
- Pañchaupasatha (No. 490) on forests as the habitation of sannyasins 203.
- Parantapa (No. 416) on finger-ring 218; performer of spells 241.
- Parṇika (No. 702) on parṇika (grower of green vegetables) 201, 239; alāvu (gourd) 201; kuśmāṇḍa (pumpkin) 201; śāka (pot herbs) 201; forests supplying pot herbs 203; changotaka (small basket) 225.
- Parasahasra (No. 99) on Udicca Brahmins 238.

**Padakuśala-mānava** (No. 432) on drinking wine forming part of festive ceremonies 227; **Surā** 227.

**Pāṇḍara** (No. 518) on town-planning 184—85; sufferings of mariners due to shipwreck in mid-ocean 258; **Karamvikapattana** as a port of departure 262; 800 merchants as fellow-passengers in a ship 266.

**Pāṇya** (No. 459) on village headman powerless before villagers 188.

**Picumanda** (No. 311) on **Picumanda** (= **Neem**) tree 204—05.

**Pūrṇapātri** (No. 53) on finger-ring 218.

**Puṣparakta** (No. 147) on cloth dyed with safflower (**kusumbha**) 229; custom of wearing cloth after it has been curled into a thousand folds 230.

**Putadūsaka** (No. 280) on receptacles made out of leaves of trees 225; gardener 241.

**Rathalaṭṭhi** (No. 332) on royal high-priest 242.

**Rohantamṛga** (No. 501) on villages inhabited solely by hunters 186, 243; earring set with stones 218; golden kinkīṇi 218; **niṣādā** 240; money-lending as one of the four honest callings 274.

**Rohiṇi** (No. 45) on female slaves pounding rice 252.

**Romaka** (No. 277) on **jiraka** (cumin seed) 202; **marica** 202.

**Rura** (No. 482) on golden basket 217; **Iṇṇapannani** (= I. O. U.) 271, 275; the debtor getting back his I. O. U. when the loan was paid back 275; debtors flying to the forests or attempting to commit suicide to escape from the clutches of his creditors 279.

**Saddanta** (No. 514) on **alāvu** (gourd) 201; **kusmāṇḍa** (pumpkin) 201; **ervāruka** (a kind of cucumber) 201; **Kadalī** tree

208; method of capturing elephants, the precursor of the modern **Khedā** system 212; **vāsi** (adze) 215; hammer 215; crowbar 215; spade 215; grass-cutter's knife 215; anger 215; **siṅghātaka** 215; leather-belt for elephant 226; leather-shoe for elephant 226; leather umbrella for elephant 226; leather strap to bind a dog 227; leather bag for keeping wealth 227; seven-storeyed house 230.

**Saktigulma** (No. 503) on a village of 500 robbers 187, 243; **Madhuka** tree yielding **Mahnā** flower 207; **Tinduka** tree 208; **Piyāla** fruit tree 208; **Kāra**, a shrub 208; robbers looting the caravans 263.

**Saktubhastrā** (No. 402) on fishermen casting their net in high seas 258 fn.; prices of slaves varied according to their accomplishments, good birth and beauty 274.

**Sakuna** (No. 36) on a border village in **Kośala** 187; successive stages of agriculture 198; thatched house 230.

**Samgrāmāvacara** (No. 182) on the walls surrounding the city of **Benares** 180; watch-towers over the gates of **Benares** 180.

**Samkalpa** (No. 251) on trees: **Aśvattha** 204 and **Madhuka** 207; **Nyagrodha** flower tree 207; **Udaṃvara** fruit tree 208.

**Sammodamāna** (No. 33) on **chumvātaka** (a ring made of straw over which coolies keep the load they are carrying on their head) 225.

**Samṛddhi** (No. 167) on **antaravāsaka** 219; **uttarāsanga** 219.

**Samudravāpij** (No. 466) on boats 222; wine prepared out of the juice of sugarcane 228; carpenter 240; guild of wood-



- workers 242; miseries of mariners shipwrecked on an island 258; ship accommodating 1000 families of carpenters 259; navigability of the Ganges by crafts of considerable size from Benares down to the sea 264.
- Sandhibheda (No. 349) on forests as pastures 202—03.
- Sankha (No. 442) on ships 222; shoes fetching 500 and even 1000 pieces 226; Brahmin as trader 247; sufferings of mariners due to shipwreck in mid-ocean 258; a ship 1120 cubits in length, 560 cubits in width and 140 cubits in depth 259; ship having three masts (kūpaka) 259.
- Sankhapāla (No. 524) on suvarṇa māṣaka (a medium of exchange) 268.
- Sankhadhma (No. 60) on blower of conch-shells 241.
- Sarabhanga (No. 522) on armour 214; Kañchuka (overcoat) 219; bow made from the horn of sheep 229; Brahmins as archers 246.
- Sarvadaṁṣṭrā (No. 241) on performer of spells 241.
- Sasa (No. 316) on iron-rod used in roasting meat 215; tent 221.
- Satadharmā (No. 179) on Udicca Brahmins 238.
- Satapatra (No. 279) on Kuṭamvaka or Kuṭamvika (private landholders) 191.
- Satyamkila (No. 73) on golden cage 217; crystal cave for a mouse 228; Udicca Brahmins inheriting a stricter standard of life 238.
- Savaka (No. 309) on mango tree yielding fruits in all seasons 207—08; royal high-priest 242.
- Sālittaka (No. 107) on nālikā (a kind of measure) 272.
- Salūka (No. 286) on pig-cultures 211.
- Sāketa (Nos. 68 and 237) on Sāketa city 182.
- Śālikedāra (No. 484) on large holdings (of 8000 acres) 190; royal domain 190—91; land gifted away 192; protection of the crops 159; catching birds in traps made of the hair of horse's tail 212, 222.
- Serivāṇij (No. 3) on Andhapura city 180; gold plate worth a lac pieces 217; free labourers living from hand to mouth 251; maid-servant 256; hawkers (kacchhaputo vāṇijo) 265.
- Śīlamīmāṃsā (No. 86) on ahitundika (snake-charmer) 241; hiranyaka (cashier or officer of the treasury) 242; kārṣāpaṇa 268.
- Śīlānīṣaṁsa (No. 190) on sufferings of mariners due to shipwreck in mid-ocean 258; ship having three masts (kūpaka) 259; the navigability of the Ganges by crafts of considerable size right up to Benares 264.
- Śīlavannāga (No. 72) on town-planning of Benares 185; saw 215; blankets 221; ivory-workers' ward in Benares 228, 244; ivory-worker 240.
- Simhacharma (No. 189) on small traders carrying their goods from one village to another on the backs of asses 265.
- Śivi (No. 499) on Ariṣṭapura city in the Śivi country 180; four gates of Ariṣṭapura 180; coverlet for elephants inlaid with gold 219; cloth of the Śivi country famous for its high quality 220.
- Somadatta (No. 211) on Brahmin peasants 238, 246.
- Soṇaka (No. 229) on illi (small sword) 215; coverlet for elephant inlaid with gold 219; basket 224; sufferings of mariners due to shipwreck in mid-ocean 258.
- Sōpananda (No. 532) on Benares famous for textile fabrics 180, 220; uspiṣa 219;



- piloting a ship in an ocean (mahārṇava) 257, 258.
- Soumanasya (No. 505) on alāvu (gourd) 201; kuṣmāṇḍa (pumpkin) 201.
- Spandana (No. 475) on a village of carpenters 187, 243; Dhava tree 205; chariots 222; Brahmin working as a cartwright 246.
- Śrīgāla (Nos. 113 and 142) on the drainage of Benares 180; barber 240; cowryshell as a standard of value 268.
- Śrīgāla (No. 148) on key (Pāli avāpurāṇa) 215-16.
- Śrīkālakarṇī (No. 382) on slaves treated as members of the family and leading virtuous lives 254.
- Sūchī (No. 387) on a village of 100 families of smiths 187, 243; corporate life of villagers 188; spear 214; paraśu (axe) 215; vāsi (adze) 215; fishing hook made of iron 215; iron goad 215; fine needles with case 215; kāmasya sthālī 216; guild of smiths 242; alderman of a guild 243.
- Sudhābhojana (No. 535) on vrihi (rice) 200; chinaka (= Sans. vrihibheda) 201 fn. tandulā 201 fn.; śyāmaka 201 fn.; hareṇukā 201 fn.; māluvā (a kind of sweet potatoes) 201; Bhanga, Aśvattha, Śāla, Tilaka, Soubhanjana (= Sajinā), Varuṇa, Bhūrjja, Vedisa, Veṇu and Muchakunda trees 204; Sthalapadma and Karpikāra flower plants 206; *flower trees*: Lodhra and Ketaki 206; Madhuka, Nyagrodha, Pātali and Sindhuvarā 207; *fruit trees*: Jamvu and Keka = Koka? = Kharjura, Tinduka (Gāva or Ebony), Kadali and Mocha (= Aṣṭikadali) 208; Kuśa and Usīra (= Khaskhas) 209; *fishes*: Rohita, Pāṭhina (Voyāla), Śakula (Sol), Śṅgi (Śṅgi), Kākiṇṇa (kāṅkley?), Āligargara, Savakra, Kākamatsya and Satavakra 212; coarse cloth made from the threads spun out of the roots of trees; dangers and risks of maritime trade described 258; the five iti's 280 fn.
- Suhanu (No. 158) on sarvārthachintaka 242; court-valuer 242 fixing prices of articles for the royal household without appeal 266; partnership in the deal in horses imported from Sind to Benares 267.
- Sujāta (No. 252) on kuṭimvaka or kuṭamvika (private landholders) 191 fn.; gold plate 216—17; slaves ill treated and even beaten by Anāthapiṇḍaka's daughter-in-law 255.
- Sūkara (No. 153) on hand-punkhā 225; marble stair-case 228, 234.
- Sukhavihāri (No. 10) on Anupiya city in Malladeśa 180; mat 221.
- Sulasā (No. 419) on 1000 kārṣāpaṇas as the fee of a courtesan for one night 272.
- Sunaka (No. 242) on leather strap to bind a dog 227; barter 267.
- Supārāga (No. 463) on Bhṛgukachchha (= Broach) city 180; diamond 209; kṣhuramāla fish (= sword-fish?) 212; corals 212; jalaniyāmaka (pilot) 241; guild of pilots 243; distress of mariners when their ship tossed aimlessly for four months, attacked by a seagale 258; ship accommodating 700 merchants 259; Bhṛgukachchha as a port of departure 262; 700 merchants combining to obtain the services of one pilot 268; eight kārṣāpaṇas as the fee of a barber 272.
- Surāpāna (No. 81) on paryanka 222; basket 224; mythological origin of surā and varuṇī wines 227; evils of drinking wine 227; Drink Festival in India 227; surā 227; varuṇī wine 227; kapotikā

- wine 227; Udicca Brahmins 238; gopāla (cowherd) 240; aśvapālaka 240; dearness of kapotikā wine 274.
- Susīma (No. 163) on decision of the majority prevailing in the village council 189 fn.; corporate life of the citizens of Śrāvastī 186; sthavikā (purse) 220; 1000 kārṣāpaṇas as the advance tuition fee paid to an ācārya 239, 272; royal high-priest 242; fees paid by apprentices to teachers 245; safety of the great N. route to Taxila 264.
- Susīma (No. 411) on royal high-priest 242.
- Suśroṇi (No. 360) on Bhṛgukachchha city 180; sea-voyage from Bhṛgukachchha to Suvarṇabhūmi (= Burma?) 261; Bhṛgukachchha as a port of departure 262.
- Sutanu (No. 398) on day-labourers being sometimes paid in money wages 251; day-labourers earning half a māṣaka to one māṣaka a day 273.
- Suvarṇahamṣa (No. 186) on garlic 201; woman working as a maid-servant 256.
- Suvarṇakakkala (No. 389) on Brahmin villages 187, 243; large holdings (of 8000 acres) 190; Tāla tree 203; Brahmin peasant 238, 246.
- Suvarṇamṛga (No. 359) on lac 203; methods of hunting 211 fn.; net of leather-straps to catch deer 227; kammakara (free labourers) 250.
- Svetaketu (No. 377) on wooden shields 224; Udicca Brahmins 238; contact with air that touches a chapdāla's body is pollution 249.
- Syāma (No. 540) on niṣāda 240; niṣāda village 243.
- Tailapātra (No. 96) on Vārāṇasī city 180; paraśu (axe) 215; multi-coloured coverlet for beddings 219; canopy decorated with golden stars 220.
- Tandulanālī (No. 5) on Vārāṇasī city 180; court-valuer 242, fixing prices for the royal household without appeal 266; rice as a standard of value 268; nālikā (a kind of measure) 272.
- Takka (No. 63) on corporate life of villagers 189; ācārya maintained by the guardians of children they taught 239; karamaras, persons captured by robbers and reduced by them to slavery 252.
- Takkala (No. 446) on bulbous roots of different kinds 201-02.
- Tarkārika (No. 481) on the serving maids of courtesans 257; out of 1000 pieces as fee for one night charged by a courtesan (Kālī by name) 500 went to cover the price of clothes, perfumes and garland used for the night 257, 272.
- Tilamuṣṭhi (No. 252) on umbrella made of leaves 225; one-soled shoe 226; ācārya 239; 1000 kārṣāpaṇas as the fee paid in advance to an ācārya 239, 272; royal high priest 242; fees paid by apprentices to teachers 245; safety of the great N. route to Taxila 264.
- Tindnka (No. 177) on Tinduka tree (Gāva or Ebony) 208.
- Tittira (No. 37) on the cities of Śrāvastī 182, Rājagṛha 182 and Vaiśālī 183; Tittira (No. 117) on Udicca Brahmins 238.
- Tittira (No. 319) on poultry-farmer 240; catching birds with the help of decoy birds 242.
- Tittira (No. 438) on ācārya 239.
- Tirtha (No. 251) on aśvapālaka 240; arthadharmānusaśaka 242.
- Tripariyyastamṛga (No. 16) on Ālavī city 180; broom-stick 225; privy (vachchhatthāna) 231.



Trisākuna (No. 521) on sthavikā (purse) 220.  
 Tundila (No. 388) on a cotton-field near Benares 220; drinking wine forming part of festive ceremonies 227; surā 227.  
 Tuṣa (No. 338) on gold plate worth a lac pieces 217; ācārya 239.  
 Tvaksāra (No. 368) on Tvaksāra (bamboo) 204.  
 Ubhatobhraṣṭa (No. 139) on fishermen 240; kārsāpāna 268.  
 Uchchhiṣṭa bhakta (No. 212) on actor 241.  
 Udañchani (No. 106) on bucket 215.  
 Udaya (No. 458) on Surandhana city in the Kāśī kingdom 182; iron vessels 215; silver vessels 216; gold vessels 216; life-like golden image of a girl 237; suvarṇa-māṣaka (a medium of exchange) 268.  
 Uḍumvara (No. 298) on Yagdummura (a kind of fig) 201.  
 Uddālaka (No. 487) on tent 221.  
 Unmādayanti (No. 527) on four gates of the city of Ariṣṭapura 180; earring set with jewels 218.  
 Upānaha (No. 231) on shoes 226; ācārya 239.  
 Uraga (No. 354) on Brahmin peasants 238, 246; no odium on a Brahmin following the occupation of a peasant 238; alderman of a guild 243; quarrel among guilds 243; slaves treated as members of a family and leading virtuous lives 254; slaves possessing knowledge of higher philosophical truths 254.  
 Utsanga (No. 67) on sātakas worth 1000 pieces of copper 274.  
 Vabhru (No. 137) on worker in stone (pāsānakutṭaka) 228, 240; white crystal cage for a mouse 228.  
 Vairi (No. 103) on paryyanka 222.

Vaka (No. 38) on bill-hook 215: chīvara (dress of the Buddhist monks) made by the monks themselves 219; cloth stiffened with starch 229.  
 Vālāhāśva (No. 196) on forests supplying rice 203; sufferings of mariners due to shipwreck in mid-ocean 258; ship accommodating 500 merchants 259; voyages to Ceylon 261.  
 Vandhanamokṣa (No. 120) on royal high priest 242.  
 Vandhanāgāra (No. 201) on iron fetters 216; iron chairs for prisoners 216.  
 Vappupatha (No. 2) on Vārāṇasī 180; hammer 215; spade 215; sthalaniyāmakā (land-pilot) 241; forest guard 241; pilots who noted the directions by marking the position of the Sun by day and of stars by night 262; caravan trade 263; caravans travelling through deserts at nights only 263; organisation of caravans 263.  
 Vardhakṣīkara (No. 283) on payment of a tax in cash 197; winnowing basket 226; snānachūrpa 279.  
 Vartaka (No. 35) on kariṣa a vessel for measurement 223; amṇapa, a vessel for measurement 223.  
 Vartaka (No. 118) on poultry-farming 211; śākunika (poultry-farmer) 240; Vartaka -vyādha (hunter of birds) 240.  
 Varuṇa (No. 71) on the right gathering firewood by the learned 82; arbours of tree in parks 213; chīvara (dress of the Buddhist monks) made by the monks themselves 219; ācārya 239.  
 Vahya (No. 108) on woman serving as maid-servant 256.  
 Vālodaka (No. 183) on makaci, a kind of fibre 202; boy-servant 241; wrestler 241.



Vātamīga (No. 14) on silver box for keeping ornaments 216; litter or sedan chair 223; pitcher 225; gardener 241; Vāruṇi (No. 47) on vāruṇi wine 227; dearness of wine of superior strength 228, 274; monks dying their chīvara 229; wine distiller 240; nālikā (a kind of measure) 272.

Vedavbha (No. 48) on performer of spells 241.

Vidurapandita (No. 545) on lac 203; *trees* Tilaka 204, Muchakunda 204, Bhagini-māla 205, Saptaparṇi 205, Uparibhadra 205, 205 fn.; *flower trees*: Karṇikāra 206, Ketaki 206, Champaka 207; Nāgamallika 207, Sindhuvāra 207; *fruit trees*: Āmra 207, Jamvu 208; Saha (= Sahakāra, scented mango) 208; *fishes*: Rohita, Pāguṣa and Pāthīna 212; Maṇikāra 217, 240; magician 239; washerman 240; garland-maker 241; cook 241; musician 241; actor 241; wrestler or boxer (muṭṭhika) 241 fn.; clown (sobhiya or soubhika) 241; kammakara (free labourer) 250; four kinds of slaves 252; shipwrecked pilot taking shelter in an island 258; cloth merchant 265.

Vikarṇaka (No. 233) on dropa, dropi 223, 272.

Vinilaka (No. 160) on Tāla tree 203.

Visa (No. 488) on the unenviable lot of the village headman 189 fn.; Benares famous for cotton cloth 220.

Viṣavānta (No. 69) on viṣavaidya (curer of poisonous bites) 239.

Viṣahya (No. 340) on grass-cutter's knife 215; grass-cutter 240; a grass-cutter earning two māśakas a day 273.

Viśwantara (No. 547) on Benares famous for her textile fabrics 180, 220; Jetuttara city in the Sivi country 181;

Jetuttara surrounded by wall pierced with gates 181; town-planning of Benares 185; valibha (pumpkin) 201; garlic 201; māluvā (a kind of sweet potato) 201; karoti (= Beng. varvaṭi) 201; kalamvi 201; bulbous roots of different kinds 201-02; mustard 202; Nili 202 fn.; forests supplying (wild) rice 203; wild rice of two kinds 203 fn.; aguru 203; guggulu 203; naladi 203; camphor 203; liquorice 203; kuṣṭha (costus) 203; ivory 203; *trees*: Śallakī, Camphor, Khadira, Aśvakarṇa, Aśvattha, Palāśa, Kūṭaja and Śāla 204; Akṣiva (= Sajinā) 204 fn.; Sovāñjana (= Sajinā) 204 fn.; Kareri (Varuṇa) 204 fn. Punnāga, Asana, Ajukarṇa, Sarala, Padmaka, Kakudha, Karandaka, Kovidāra, Tāliśa, Saptaparṇi, Karañja, Dhava, Dhātri, Putrañjiva, Kosamva, Somavikṣa and Pañjura 205; Mahānāma 205-06; Svetaparṇa, Jatāmāṃsī Nilapuspī, Svetavārī and Kateruha 206; Asitaru 206, 206 fn.; Katamāla and Phapijjak 206; Vallika 205, 205 fn.; Tulasi plant 206; *flower trees*: Karṇikāra, Karandaka, Kimśuka, Kimśukalatikā, Nipa (= Kadamva), Ankola, Yodhi (= Yodhika = Yuthikā) Sthalapadma, Ketaki and Vakula 206; Aśoka, Nāga-keśara, Tagara, Nāgavalli, Pātali, Nīrgundī (= Niṣindā), Bhaṇḍi (= Ghentu), Jāti, Madhugandhikā, Svetachchha, Raktamāla, Śimśapā, Asphoṭaka, Sūryavalli, Anoja, Vāsantī, Kimśukalatikā, Padmottara, and Elāmvarā 207; Śirīṣa (= Ghentu) 207 fn.; *fruit trees*: Āmra, Jamvu, Vadarī, Kapittha, Kharjura, Tāla, Vibhedaka (= Tāla); Cocosnut, Haritaki Vibhītaka, Panasa, Lavuṇa, Timvaru and Drākṣā 208; *shrubs and plants yielding scents*: Turmeric,

Aguru, Kuṣṭha (costus), Nalada (spike-nard), Guggula and Liquorice 208; Sandalwood, Priyanga, Gandhaśila, Bhādrasūta, Śatapūṣpa, Jhāmaka, Tungavīnta, Hrīvera, Choraka, Kalinga, Unnaka and Lolupa 209; *grass and reeds*: Kāśa, Kuśa, Poṭakila, Pavajja, Muñja and Usīra (=Khaskhas) 209; Rohita fish 212; silver pot for milching cows 216; ornament for the neck set with jewels 218; *ornaments*: mukha-phulla 216-17, kṣhauma, unnata, keyūra angada, mekhalā, gingamaka, pālīpāda and udghaṭṭana 218; Kautamvara famous for her cloth specially linen 221; Gāndhāra famous for her blankets some fetching a lac pieces 222; wooden spoon 223; earthen dolls for children which were representations of the images of elephants, horses, bulls, deer, hare, monkey, peacock, swan, birds etc., 226; meraya (=maireya) wine 227; seven-storeyed house 230; magician 239; confectioner 241; musician 241; mandraka-blower 241; weavers' ward in Benares 244; enslavement of a prince and a princess not shocking to the social ideas of those days 252; slaves freeing themselves by payment 253; sacrifice of cocks (panthaśakuna) for the safety of the caravan 263; niṣka 269; Amitratāpana's enslavement due to her father's debt 273 fn.; price of slaves varied with their accomplishments, good birth, beauty etc. 273, 274; woolen blankets worth a lac 274.

Viśvāsabhanjana (No. 98) on forests as pastures 202-03.

Viraka (No. 204) on the sufferings caused by famines in the Kāśī kingdom 280.

Vṛhachchhatra (No. 336) on leather bag

for keeping wealth 227; performer of spells 241.

Journal Asiatique—(Vol. IV): Renand on the identification of Yavadvīpa and Suvarṇadvīpa with Jāvā and Sumātrā 162 fn.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—(1920): on prehistoric symbols on punch-marked coins 10.

Journal of Literature and Science, Madras —(1858): Mr. Elliot on the punch-marked coins in the graves of Coimbatore 10.

Journal of the Oriental Society of Germany —(Vol. XXII): Dr. Ballensen on references in the Vedas to images of gods 57.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—(Vol. XVIII): Gowland on Neolithic gold-mining centres in the Deccan 4; (Vol. LIV), E. H. Hunt on Copper Age remains in graves discovered in the Nizam's dominions 9; E. H. Hunt on Hyderabad pottery of the Copper Age resembling early forms of the "Ka" mark pottery of Egypt 18; Richard on some iron graves in North Arcot district 9 fn.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—(Vol. VII): N. G. Walhouse on Copper Age remains in Coimbatore 8; (1888): Hewitt on the export of teak from the Malabar coast to Babylon 72, 163; (1889): John Cockburn on the cave-paintings in the Kymore ranges 5; (1898): Kennedy on trade between India and Babylon in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. 163; (1925): E. Mackay in his article on Sumerian connections with Ancient India on points of similarity between ancient Indian and Sumerian civilisation 17.

Journal of the Royal Economic Society—(1910): Mrs. Rhys. Davids on all



- exchange in the Vedic Age as done by barter 75.
- Kaṣīṭhala Saṃhitā on *metals* : gold, ayas, lead, tin, śyāma and loha 123 ; washing for gold 125 ; śyāma 131 ; ointments 176.
- Kauśika Sūtra of Atharvaveda with extracts from the commentaries of Darila and Keśava edited with valuable notes by M. Bloomfield on charms to avert inundation 96 ; Tṛṣṭāgha tree 100 ; śyāmāka 107 ; parihasta used as a bracelet 127 fn. ; weather-prophet 150 fn.
- Kauśika Sūtra on canal irrigation and the practical part of the ceremony of letting in the water 93.
- Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa)—Trans. into Eng. by A. B. Keith on a double crop 91 ; wooden sacrificial post 137 ; ritual shoes made of bore skin 140 ; śreṣṭhin 152, 157. gambling as one of the causes of indebtedness 177.
- Kauṣītaki Sūtra on palāla (straw) 143 fn. ; the necessity of proving one's descent from three generations of ṛṣis before one can serve as a priest 155.
- Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad—Trans. into Eng. by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. series Vol. I. on *vasana* (cloth) 116 ; razor 132 ; razor case 132 ; āsandi having four legs 138 ; paryyanka (bed-stead) 138 ; śreṣṭhin 152, 157 ; King Ajātaśatru disputing with and instructing Brahmins in the lore of the Brahmā 156 ; perfumes 176.
- Kāthopaniṣad—Translated into English by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. series Vol. XV. on gold 123 ; śrinkā, an ornament 128 ; razor 132 ; sword 132 ;

- polished mirrors 135 ; pictures (light and shade) 142 ; painter's brush 142.
- Kāśikā (commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras) by Paṇḍita Vāmana and Jayādityācārya Edited by Paṇḍitas Gangādhara Śāstri and Ratnagopāla Bhaṭṭācārya : Pāṇini's Sūtra IV. 2. 68 *tena nirvṛittam* referring to the foundation of Kauśāmvi by prince Kuśāmva 181 fn.
- Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā—Edited by L. Schræder in four vols. on well-irrigation 93 ; tantu (yarn) 115 ; vemān (loom) 115 ; nīvi (closely woven end of the cloth) 116 ; praghāta (long and loose unwoven fringe with swaying tassels) 116 ; tūṣa (shorter fringe of the cloth corresponding to the modern chilkā) 116 ; vātapā (lengthwise border of the cloth which kept the web together from becoming threadbare by fluttering in the wind) 116 ; ārokāḥ (spotty patterns embroidered all over the cloth) 116-17 ; uṣṇīṣa (a head dress) 118 ; threads of wool 118 ; barāṣi (a barken stuff) 119 ; *metals* : gold, ayas, lead, tin, śyāma and loha 123 ; washing for gold 125 ; śyāma 131 ; methi (pillar) 145 ; knowledge not descent making a Brāhmaṇa 155 ; setu (raised bank for crossing inundated land) 160fn. ; śatamāna (a medium of exchange) 165 ; hiranya kṛṣṇāla (a medium of exchange) 125, 167 ; ointment 176 ; śalālī (annointing instrument used by males) 176.
- Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra on uṣṇīṣa 118 ; tārpya (silk or linen garment) 119 ; preparation of soma drink 141 ; black and pointed shoes of the Vṛātyas 226 ; Śatamāna (a medium of exchange) 269.
- Kevaddha Sutta on the use of birds to guide pilots 262.



- Khādīra Gṛhyasūtra**—Trans. into Eng., by H. Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series vol. XXIX. on rotation of crops 91, 200; darvī (a spoon) 223; razor of udumvara wood 224; basket 224; rules and rites on house-building 235; sesamum 202; razor made of metal 215; brazen vessels 216; brazen bowls 216; ornaments 217; golden ornaments 217; wreath of gold 218; rope 225; pitcher 225; shoes 226.
- Kindred Sayings** (—Sanyutta Nikāya)—Translated into Eng. by Mrs. Rhys Davids and Mr. F. H. Woodward in three parts on all property left intestate or ownerless reverting to the crown 276.
- La Doctrine du Sacrifice**—Sylvain Levi on the story of Manu dividing his property among his sons 84 fn.
- Land system in South India between 800 A. D. and 1200 A. D.**—Dr. K. M. Gupta (Punjab Oriental series, Vol. No. XX.) on two-field and three-field systems of cultivation 92—93.
- Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra** with the commentary of Agni Swāmī on the necessity of proving one's descent from three generations of ṛṣis before one can serve as a priest 155.
- Literary History of India**—R. W. Frazer on the Puraṇasūkta hymn 61; sea not unknown to the early Indo-Aryans 67.
- Manchester Memoirs Vol. LX. Part 1.** (1915) on Neolithic graves 6.
- Mahābhāṣya** of Patañjali critically by edited by Kielhorn: the commentator Nāgajibhaṭṭa's wrong interpretation of the Mauryas as idol-manufacturers 165—66.
- Mahāniddeśa** on Tamraparī dwīpa 261 fn.; (commentary) on the difficulties of caravans figuratively described 263.
- Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta**—Trans. into Eng. by T. W. Rhys Davids in the S. B. E. series vol. XI. on the six great cities and the small city of Kuśinagara 179-80; foundation of a fortress in Pāṭaligrāma which along with the fortress grew up into the town of Pāṭaliputra 184.
- Mahāsudassana Suttanta**—Trans. into Eng. by T. W. Rhys Davids in the S. B. E. series vol. XI. on town-planning of Kuśavati 155; detailed description of a flight of stairs 234.
- Mahāvagga**—Trans. into Eng. by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series in vols. XIII. & XVII. on cultivation of lands by tenants 198; use of scare-crows to protect the crops 199; channel dug for co-operative irrigation likened to a patchwork robe of the monks 200; Śimula cotton used in quilts 202; forests as elephant-preserves 204; coverlets dyed with figures of animals 220 fn.; high quality of the cloth of the Sivi country 22; various kinds of woollens 221; pallanka (high class bedstead) 222; āsandi 222; litter or sedan chair 223; apassena phalakam (board to lean against) 223; five kinds of abodes allowed to Buddhist monks 231; extensively built houses of the richer classes described 232; ogumpheti (—skins?) 233 fn.; adjustable shutters for windows 234; relation between the antevāsika and the ācārya 245; undischarged slaves not eligible for the pavajjā ordination 253; one hundred

- pieces for one night as fee of a courtesan (Śālavatī by name) 257.
- Mahāvamsa—Edited by W. Geiger on frontier villages in Vanga country 187 and 187 fn.
- Maitrāyana Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad—Translated into English by F. Max Muller in the S. B. E. series in Vol. XV. on plantain tree 105 fn.; the work of the blacksmith described 131; bell 132; vessels made of brass 133; painted wall 142; karmāra (blacksmith) 149; mṛtpaca (potter) 150; public dancer 151; actor 151 fn.; magician 151 fn.; prize-fighter 151; catching fish with a net 170-71.
- Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā—Edited by L. Schræder, on vamāna (loom) 115; uṣṇīṣa 118; threads of wool 118; tārpya (silk or linen garment) 119; kṣhauma (linen) 119; metals: gold, ayas, lead, tin, śyāma and loha 123; washing for gold 125; hiraṇyakṛṣṇāla (a medium of exchange) 125; opaśa 129; śyāma 131; prāvepa (according to Geldner looking glass); potter 140, 150; knowledge and not descent making a Brāhmaṇa 155; ointment 176; śalālī (annointing instrument used by males) 176.
- Majjhima Nikāya (the first 50 discourses)—Translated into English by Bhikkhu Śīlacara in two parts on the city of Aṭṭaka in Anga 180: Assapura, a nigama in Anga 180; Halidda-vamsa, a nigama in the Koliya country 181; Kitagiri, a nigama in the Kāśī kingdom 181; forests as elephant-preserves 204; thatched house 230; slaves forming part of a householder's property 252-53; beating a female slave (Kālī by name) 255; female dancers and singers 256; voyages out of sight of land 258.
- Manchester Memoirs (Vol. LX.)—Elliot Smith on the causes that led to the establishment of Neolithic settlements in particular localities 6.
- Manusmṛti with the commentary of Medhātithi—Translated into English by Dr. Gangānātha Jhā complete in ten vols. on the sharing of lands by the conquering persons 24; fines on piercing fine gems like diamonds and rubies and for boring pearls or inferior gems improperly 133 fn.; kṛṣṇāla as a metallic standard 167, 167 fn.; Vena caste 248; Pukkasa caste 248 fn.; Dhvajāhṛta class of slaves 252; Dapdadāsa class of slaves 252; table of weights and measures on which the standard of exchange was based 269.
- Manual of Indian Buddhism—Kern on the sale of land to Anāthapiṇḍada 192 fn.
- Mayamatam on the growth of villages into towns 183 fn.
- Mānava Gṛhyasūtra on temple 236.
- Myth, Ritual and Religion—Andrew Lang on the similarity in the primitive mode of accounting for creation from the sacrifice of a fabulous monsterman, a Puruṣa 61.
- Natural History—Pliny on Indian glass as superior to all others from the circumstances of its being made of pounded crystal 135; fifty-eight rivers of India 200.
- Neu und Vollmondsopfer—Hildebrandt on prasitraharaṇa 224 fn.
- Nirukta—Yāska on Devapi as royal priest 156.
- Notes on the Age and Distribution of the Foote collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities (Madras, 1916)—Bruce Foote on Neolithic pottery 3-4; Neolithic iron industry 4 fn.;



- painted figures on rocks in the Neolithic site of Kapgalla in the Bellary district 5.
- Numismata Orientalia—Goldstucker on stamped impressions on the media of exchange 269.
- Omina et Portenta—Weber on charms to avert inundation 96; Sakadhūmam (weather-prophet) 150 fn.
- Origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet—Bühler on references to navigation in the Rgveda 67.
- Origin and Growth of Religion among the Babylonians—Dr. Sayce *See* under Hibbert Lectures.
- Original Sanskrit Texts—Muir on kulyā in the Rgveda meaning artificial waterways 29; on the probable use of cotton cloth in early Vedic Age 49; leather work in the Rgvedic Age 54; absence of caste system in the Rgvedic Age 58.
- Oxford History of India—V. A. Smith on the non-existence of the golden age of poets in the primitive times 1; Puruṣa-sūkta hymn 61; voyage of Skylax down the Indus into the Indian Ocean 261.
- Pāli Dictionary—Childers on kuṭimvaka or kuṭamvika (private landowners) 191 fn.; Nikkho = five suvarṇas 270.
- Pāli Dictionary—Rhys Davids on kuṭimvaka or kuṭamvika (private landowners) 191 fn.
- Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa—Trans. into Eng. by Dr. Caland on maṇi being work on the neck by means of a thread 52; goat's skin as clothing 112; tūṣa (a shorter fringe of cloth corresponding to the modern chilkā) 116; uspiṣa 118; barāsi (bark-stuff) 116; opāṣa 128; necklace of silver nīṣkas 128, 130, 165; prakāśa (according to Geldner looking

glass) 134; bags for holding milk, wine and other liquids made from cow-hide 110, 140, 169; methi (pillar) 145 fn.; vāyitrī (female weaver) 149 fn. 153; royal seers 155; royal priest 156; badvan (causeways) 160; goat's skin as clothing 112; gambling as one of the causes of indebtedness 177.

Pāpini *See* under Sūtras of Pāpini.

Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by H. Oldengurg in the S. B. E. series vol. XXIX. on kilāla (a variety of surā) 142; pariśrut (a drink from flowers) 142; position of women in relation to agriculture 153; mudga 201; sesamum 202; mustard 202; tortoises 202; spear 214; axe 215; copper razor 216; brazen vessels 216; an instrument of gold used in giving honey and clarified butter to the newborn child in the medhājanana ceremony 217; ornaments 217; kuṇḍala (earring) 218; chariots 222; ākarsa phalakam (dice-board) 223 fn.; darvi (spoon) 223; sruva (small sacrificial ladle) 223; mat 224; basket 224; shoes 226; wine of superior strength 228; rules and rites on house-building 235.

Pātimokkha—Trans. into Eng. by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series vol. XIII. on employment of weavers to weave cloth for monks 219; silk fabrics 221; use of money forbidden to the Saṃgha 267; practice of stamping impressions on media of exchange 269; a kārṣa (= kārṣāpaṇa) enough for buying coarse clothing for a monk and ten kārṣa's for a nun 273.

Pliny's Natural History *See* under Natural History—Pliny.



Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (Schoff's Eng. Trans.) on the discovery of the monsoon 74; the export of ebony from Barygaza 70 fn.

Prehistoric Antiquities—Schröder on ayas as pure dark copper 49; loha as originally meaning copper but later denoting iron 49, 131.

Prehistoric India—Dr. Pañchānana Mitra (Second edition, 1927) on Neolithic pottery 4; rock-carving in Manbhandar village of Singhbhum 5—6; prehistoric rock-painting near Singanpur in the Raigarh district of C. P. 4—5.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1867): Mr. H. E. Blanford on the existence of man in India at a much earlier period than in Europe 1.

Psalms of the Brethern on channels dug for co-operative irrigation likened to a patchwork robe of the Buddhist monk 200; court-valuer 242, 266; slaves having no freedom except that given by their masters 253; manumission of slaves 253; courtesans 257; fish-monger's village at a gate of Śrāvastī 265;

Psalms of the Sisters—*See* under Therīgāthā.

Ptolemy's Geography—*See* under Geography—Ptolemy.

Rāmāyaṇa—Vālmiki (with the three commentaries of Tilaka, Śiromaṇi and Bhuṣaṇa) complete in seven vols. on crops grown 94—95; importance of agriculture 95; famine 96-97; forests supplying resin, aloe, musk, sandalwood, lac, hides, honey and fuel and the materials for the construction of houses and sacrificial implements 97; different kinds of trees 98—105; beautiful avenues of Śāla trees in the city of

Ayodhyā 101 fn.; mango-gardens of Kośala 105 fn.; groves of cocoanut trees along S. coast of the Deccan 105 fn.; groves of plantain trees 105 fn.; art of gardening 103; dung of buffaloes used as fuel 112; Kamvoja, Bahlhika and Sind famous for their horses 112, 158; flesh of sheep as food 112; cloth made of sheep's wool 113; large size and great strength of the elephants of the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions 113, 158; hides of elephants 113; hunting the deer and the antelope with the bow and the arrow 114; weaving industry 120—22: linen 120-21, woolen 121, silk 121-22; metals 123-24; mineral products like gairika, lime, mica, crystal and diamonds 124; goldsmith 124, 149 fn.; mining gold, gems and precious stones 125; silver mines 124; metal industries 126—133: various articles made of gold 126—127, various ornaments 129—30, various articles made of silver 130, metal vessels 131; spade 132; hoe 132; bill-hook 132; iron axe 132, iron box or trunk 132; 169; collyrium pots 132; blade of an arrow 132; sword 132; armour 132; armour for elephants and horses 132; ornaments made of iron 133; images of tiger made of various metals 133; bell-metal milk-pots 133; brass 133; alchemy 133; jeweller 134, 149; jewellery 134; polished mirror 135; wooden sacrificial post 137; specialised carpenters 139; manufacturer of boxes 139, 169; wooden sandals 139; artificial hills made of wood 139; deer-skin used as seat-spreads 139; tiger-skin as coverlet for chariots 139—40; lion-skin as coverlet for chariots 140; leather-worker 140, 149; pots like kumbhī, karambhī

and sthālī 140, 169; liquor-pots 140 169; altars and seats made of ivory and gold 140; pillars and windows made of ivory 140; images of ivory placed in chariots 140; surā that oozes spontaneously from trees (= tādi ?) 142; vārūṇī and maireya wines 142; painters 142; rooms adorned with pictures made by skilful artists 142; images of horses, birds, serpents and of Lakṣmī with her elephants carved on a chariot 142; town-planning of the city of Lankā 146—47; town-planning of the city of Ayodhyā 147; civic consciousness of the citizens in keeping with town-planning 148; weaver of rugs 149; scent-maker 149; potter 150; astrologer 150; physician 150; cook 150, 174; servant 150; washerman 150; musician 151; public dancer 151; actor 151; artist 151; painter 151; merchant 151; mason 151; a brahmin earning livelihood by ploughing 156; Vālmikī, a Sūdra was the composer of the Rāmāyaṇa and a ṛṣi 156; recognition of the position held by trades and crafts in society 158; references to sea-voyages 161-62; reference to preparations for a naval fight 162; India's trade in silk with China 162; flesh of goat, sheep and of hunted animals like black antelope and wild boar as food 170; dried meat as food 170; flesh of buffalo, cock, peacock, hare and various kinds of kṛkālā as food in Rāvaṇa's kitchen 170; āsava and its preparation 171; luxury and the improvement of art in the age of the Rāmāyaṇa 174-76; gambling as one of the causes of indebtedness 177; duty of the state to promote the material welfare of the subjects 178; foundation of Kauśāmyī by prince Kauśāmya 111 fn.;

inclusion of Vārttā (which concerned itself with the various branches of production) in the royal curriculum of studies 275; king advised to pay proper attention to the property of traders, cultivators and the cattle-farmers 275—276.

Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde—Otto Schröder on the original Aryan stock having acquaintance with agriculture long before their migration into different lands 22; on the common knowledge of the arts of the weaver, the carpenter and the plaiter of grass and reeds among the people speaking the Indo-European group of languages 45.

Records of the Geological Survey (Vol. I): Dr. Oldham on the Godavari flake being "formed from a compact light-coloured agate" 2; (Vol. XXXVII): Dr. Keith on the Burma find containing implements showing distinct traces of having been worked by man 1.

Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Madras (1914-15): Longhurst on Copper Age remains in Kurnool burial sites 8; the western (Egyptian) influence on the Copper Age pottery of S. and W. India 9.

Report of the Archaeological survey of India, Southern Circle (1902—03) Mr. A. Rea on Copper Age remains in the burial sites at Adichanallur in Tinnevely 8.

Rgveda Saṃhitā with the commentary of Śāyanācārya critically edited by F. Max Müller in 4 vols. on cow as the medium of exchange 9—10; growth of land-ownership and agricultural life 22—24; Aryans sharing among themselves the conquered land of the Dasyus 24; no

royal ownership of land 24—25 ; corporate village life 25—26 ; growth of towns 26-28 ; clearance of forests for purposes of agriculture 28 ; origin of the art of sowing seeds and of the use of the plough 28—29 ; agricultural operations 28—29, 31—32 ; use of manure 29 ; irrigation by wells 29—30, 93 ; ceremonies connected with agriculture 30—31 ; nature of the grains grown 32 ; food of the people 32—35 ; domesticated animals 35—41 ; various kinds of trees 42, grass 43 and plants 43 ; economic importance of forests 41 ; hunting and fishing 43—44 ; weaving industry 45—49 ; dress 47—48 ; metal industry 49—52 ; various kinds of ornaments 51—52 ; carpentry 52—53 ; pottery 53 ; leather-work 54 ; manufacture of liquor 54 ; house-building 54—57 ; painting and sculpture 57—58 ; caste system in relation to mobility of labour 58—62 ; different occupations 62—64 ; domestic labour 64—65 ; internal or domestic trade 65—66 ; means of communication : roads and rest houses for travellers 66, 159, beasts of burden etc., 66—67 ; navigation 67—69 ; combination between merchants 74—75 ; methods and media of exchange 75—77 ; general economic condition of the masses and the classes 77—80 ; indebtedness 79 ; rate of interest 79, 177 fn. ; famine 80 ; hospitality and liberality 80 ; law of inheritance 89 ; *proṣṭha* (in *proṣṭha-sāya*), something like a high and broad bench 137 fn. ; *āsecana*, vessel to hold liquids such as meat-juice 140, 169 ; *ayasthūpā* (pillar made of *ayas*) 145 fn. ; *añja* or *añji* meaning ornaments 127 fn. ; *gṛha*, either an actual house

erected over or beside the grave in memory of the deceased or chambers and vaults of subterranean or rock-out caves 144 ; pillar (*sthūpā*) on Vedic grave 144—45 ; *upalaprakṣiṇī* (woman employed in grinding corn) 148 fn. ; *vapṛi* (barber) 151 fn. ; *kuśīdin* (usurer) 152 fn. ; high status of the *rathakāras* 152 ; slavery 64, 153 ; *dāsa* denoting a non-sacrificer, a heterodox and not always a slave 153, 153 fn. ; *ariṭr* (rower of a boat) 161 ; *harmya* 173—74 ; *harmyeṣṭhaḥ* prince 137—74 ; prayers for freedom from debt 177 fn. ; protection of crops from birds by making din and noise 199.

*R̥gveda*—Translated into English by R. T. H. Griffith in two vols. on *Kākamvara*, some umbrageous tree 42 ; uses of *Valvaja* (*Eleusine Indica*) 43 : *Pātā* or *Pāṭhā*, a climbing plant having medicinal properties 43 ; hunting lion from a place where men lie in wait to capture him or where a pitfall has been prepared to entrap him 44 ; *R̥gveda* IV. 24. 10 and VIII. 1. 5 referring to images of gods 57 ; *R̥gveda* IV. 32. 33 referring to carved images of girls on wooden posts 57-58, 142 ; *R̥gveda* IV. 24. 9 suggesting haggling over prices 65-66.

*R̥gveda*, the oldest literature of the Indians by A. Kaegi—Translated into English by R. Arrowsmith on race of chariots drawn by horses as “the peaceful preparatinn for the decisive struggle on the battle-field” 39 ; lowest stage of development of arts and crafts in the *R̥gvedic* Age 44.

*R̥gveda*—Eng. Trans. by H. H. Wilson, on *pūras* as cities 26, 27-28 ; references to weaving in the *R̥gveda* 46 ; *R̥gveda*



IV. 24. 2 suggesting a contract for sale 65; Rgveda III. 31. 1-2 suggesting law of inheritance and Sāyana's interpretation on it 89 fn.

Rgvedic Culture—A. C. Das on cultivation of rice in the Rgvedic Age 32 fn.

Śarāṅgadhara Saṁhitā (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press) on table of weights and measures 272 fn.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (Ajmere edition) on sacrifice described figuratively as ploughing, sowing and reaping 31; garment of kuśa grass used by the wife of the sacrificer 43 fn.; alankāra used for the first time in the, 51 fn., 127, rukma being worn on the breast by means of a chain (rukmapāśa) 52, 128 tālpa 53; nature and construction of gṛha (a memorial structure) 56 fn.; cities of Āsandhivat and Parivakra 81-82; feeling against land-transfer 85; gifts of lands to Brāhmins 85; Kṣatriya clansmen apportioning land given to them by a king with the mutual consent of all 85; every one being fit to be eaten up by the king 85; grant of (public) land by the king with the consent of the clan 86; agricultural operations 92; raid of cattle 109; various articles of food prepared from cow's milk 110, 171; beef-eating 111; growing feeling against cow-slaughter 111; goat's skin as clothing 112; origin of boar, its fat and the sandals made of its skin 113; tortoise 114; anuchāda (forward stretched web) 115; sic (border or fringe of cloth) 116; daśa (border or fringe of cloth) 116 fn.; nīvi (closely woven end of the cloth) 116; praghāta (long and loose unwoven fringe of swaying tassels) 116; ārokāḥ (spotty patterns embroidered all over the

cloth) 116-17; adhivāsa (garment to cover the upper part of the body) 117; uṣṇiṣa 118; tārpya (silk or linen garment) 119; metals: gold, ayas, lead, tin, syāma and loha 123; washing for gold 125; suvarṇa 125 fn.; pādas of gold 125 fn.; śatamāna 125 fn.; gold on the priest's finger 125 fn.; karpasobhana 128; silver plates 130; lohamaya 131; lohāyasa 131; prākāśa (according to Geldner looking glass) 134; āsandī (shining seat) made of Udmvara wood 138; āsandī made of Khadira wood 138; āsandī square in shape 138; a span high āsandī 138; knee high āsandī 138; navel high āsandī 138; nau-maṇḍa (rudder of a boat) 139; goat-skin as the ritual dress of the priest 139; goat-skin, tiger-skin and black antelope skin as coverlet for āsandī's 139-40; ritual shoes made of boar-skin 113; 140; burnt (pakva) bricks mentioned for the first time in, 143 fn.; śmaśāna (funeral and memorial structure) and its three varieties—vāstū, gṛha and prajāñānam 114; stone and timber pillars on śmaśāna 145, 145 fn.; dvār (door) 145 fn.; sthūpā (pillar) 145 fn.; sthūpā-rāja 145 fn.; methi (pillar) 145 fn.; smelting of ores (aśman) 148 fn.; female weaver 142 fn., 153; stone-carving 149 fn.; position of women in relation to agriculture 153-54; royal seers 156; kings Janaka and Aśvapati disputing with and instructing brāhmaṇas in the lore of the Brahmā 156; horses imported from the Indus regions 158; setu (raised bank for crossing inundated land) 160 fn.; reference to sea and sea-navigation by Mann, the Indian Noah 161; manorava-sarpanam (sliding down of the ship) 161

- fn.; ship having two rudders 161; nāvāja (pilot) 161; tūlā (balance) 164; śatamāna (a medium of exchange) 165—66; a śatamāna was vṛtta (i.e., round) in shape 166; suvarṇa (a medium of exchange) 166; pāda (a medium of exchange) 166; āvasatha (structure of some sort for the reception of guests) 168 fn.; Yājñavalkya's fondness for beef 170; liberality of princes 173; ointment 176; gambling as one of the causes of indebtedness 177; sareṣika, a reed stalk with a tuft as anointing instrument 176; Kauśāmveya, one belonging to the city of Kośāmvi 181 fn.
- Satapatha Brāhmaṇa—Trans. into Eng. by J. Eggeling in five vols. (in the S. B. E. series) on Prof Eggeling's acceptance of Sāyana's interpretation of a śatamāna as having been 100 mānas or guñja-berries in weight 166.
- Sāmaveda—Eng. Trans. by Stevenson on the preparation of Soma sacrificial drink 141.
- Sāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad—Trans. into Eng. by A. B. Keith on paryyanka (bedstead) 138; āsandi having four legs 138;
- Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra—Trans. into English by H. Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series vol. XXIX. on kilāla (a variety of surā) 142, 237; pariśrut (a drink from flowers) 142; vṛlhi (rice) 200; yava 201; mudga 201; sesamum 202; mustard 202; indigo 202; śana (Crotalaria Junica) 202; consecration ceremony of a garden 213; sword 214; axe 215; copper razor 216; gold vessels 216; gold spoon 217; golden ornaments 217; earring 218; chariot 222; sruc (ladle) 223; sruva (small sacrificial ladle) 223; pitcher 225; pot for keeping curds 225—26; shoes 226; women drinking wine at marriage festivals 227; surā 227; rules and rites on house-building 235; temples 236.
- Sanyutta-Nikāya—See under Kindred Sayings.
- Sāyana's commentary on the Ṛgveda—on the fowler's wife cutting a bird evidently for food (in Ṛgveda I. 92. 10) 33; tridhātu and trivarūtha (in Ṛgveda VI 45. 9) 56; Ṛgveda III. 31. 1—2 referring to customs or laws of succession to property 89.
- Si—yu—ki (Buddhist Records of the Western World) by Hsuen Tsang—Trans. into English by S. Beal on the story of the maritime adventures of the lion-prince Siṃhala 261; kingdom of women 261; red sandal-wood image of the Buddha caused to be made by the minister of king Udayana, a contemporary of the Buddha 236.
- Sociale Gliederang Indien—Fick on Udicca Brahmins-inheriting a stricter standard of life 238.
- Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India—S. C. Sarkar, London, 1928 on opāśa as a style of hair-dressing 51 fn.; kurīra as a style of hair-dressing 52 fn.; building activities developing through the needs of social and corporate life of the Vedic Aryans [as in the case of Vedic goṣṭhi (club) vidatha (royal audience hall), sabhā and the like] 57; uttuda (sprung from tuda or mulberry tree i.e., silken) 119; kumva and kurīra as a kind of horn-shaped coiffure 127 fn., 128 fn.

St. Petersburg Dictionary—on dama 55 fn.; pastyasad 55 fn.; paṇi 74; anūka as an adverb only (and not as an ornament) 51; opaśa as hair-tape or hair-net 51; khādi as an ornament of three kinds 52; śyāmā, name of various plants 107 fn.

Study in the Economic Conditions in Ancient India, A—Dr. Prāṇanātha on the relative value of gold and silver in Kauṭilya's time 271.

Sūtras of Pāṇini on ākhana (=a pit artificially made where the hunter could lie in wait at a convenient distance for shooting) 114 fn.; pāda as a metallic standard 167; Sālatura city 182; Takṣaśilā 183; śana (Crotalaria Junica) 202; grāmaḥ śilpini (craftsmen attached to a village) 213; grāmakautābhyām ca takṣaṇa (carpenters attached to a village) 213; bell-metal 216; kanthā 220; kauṣeya cloth 221; carpets 221 fn.; Kapiśa famous for grapes out of which wine was prepared 228; temple of the gods 236; actor 241; Chakravartman, a Kṣatriya was a grammarian 248; vaitanika (wage-earner) 251; dvaipyo vaṇika (merchants trading with islanders) 259; salt merchants 265; spice merchants 265; saurpa, vāsanam and maṇḍika proving the existence of barter 268; bovine tale as a standard of value 268; cow as a standard of value 268; kāṛṣāpaṇa 268, pāda 268, paṇa 268, śatamāna 269, niṣka 269, hiranya 269, kaṇṣa 269 and vista 269 as media of exchange; stamped impressions on media of exchange 269; māśa (as a kind of weights) 272; ādhaka (a kind of measure) 272; dvaiguṇika, traiguṇika

and daśaikaśika proving the exorbitant rates of interest 274—75.

Suttanipāta—Translated into English by V. Fausboll in the S. B. E. series Vol. X. on cattle-rearing by Kāśi Bharadvāja, a Brahmin 211; Brahmin peasant Bharadvāja 238, 246 fn.; bhātaka (day-labourer) 251 fn.; route from Śrāvastī to Patitṭhāna described 264; (commentary) on Sirimā, a courtesan whose mother was also a courtesan 257.

Suttavibhanga on peśakāra (weaver) 240; rathakāra 240; low castes and trades 248-49.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka with the commentary of Bhāskara—Edited by Mahādeva Śāstrī in three vols. on the slaughter of the cow as an invariable accompaniment of the Rājastīya, Vājapeya and the Aśvamedha ceremonies 110.

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa with the commentary of Śāyapācārya in three vols. on surā as a drink of ordinary life 35 fn., 54; tālpa (son born on the nuptial bedstead i. e., legitimate son) 53; Janaśruteya as a nagarin 82; two kinds of rice: āśu and mahāvṛthi 94; 180 domestic animals to be sacrificed in Aśvamedha 110; beef-eating 110, 111; sacrifice of buffaloes 111; vemāna (loom) 115; tūṣa (a shorter fringe of the cloth corresponding to the modern chilkā) 116; tārpya (silk or linen garment) 119; hiranya-kṛṣṇala 125; prākāśa (according to Geldner looking glass) 134; kācha (glass or jewellery) 133, 135; tālpa (nuptial bedstead) made of Udumvara wood 137; proṣṭha (something like a high and broad bench) 137; mantras for the preparation of Soma drink 142; śreṣṭhin 152, 157 fn.;



loss of the former high status of the rathakāra through devotion to a mechanical art 152, 154; position of women with regard to agriculture 153—54; vanij (merchant) 158; setu (raised bank for crossing inundated land) 160 fn.; śatamāna (as a medium of exchange) 167; cattle driven out to graze thrice a day 167; āvasatha (structure of some sort for the reception of guests) 168 fn.; liberality of princes 173.

Taittirīya Saṃhitā (=Black Yajurveda)

with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya on separate ownership of land 82; ownership of land 82—84; story of Manu dividing his property among his sons 84; rise of landed aristocracy 88; law of inheritance 90; use of six or twelve oxen to drive the plough 90—91; plough-share 90—91; seasons bearing on agriculture 91; well-irrigation 93; crops grown 94; different kinds of trees 99, 103, plants 107 and grass 109; cow as a medium of exchange 111; use of bullocks in ploughing land and in drawing waggons and carriages 111; camel as an object of sacrifice 112; goat's milk as the highest form of draught 112, 112 fn.; bad effects of accepting the gift of a sheep 113; sheep used in drawing the plough 113; ass as "the best burden-gatherer of animals" 113; pits artificially made where the hunter could lie in wait 114; tortoise 114; prācīnātāna (forward stretched web) 115; vāsas (cloth) 116; nīvi (closely woven end of the cloth) 116; pragbāta (long and loose unwoven fringe with swaying tassels) 116; tūṣa (a shorter fringe of the cloth corresponding to the modern chilka) 116; vātapāna (length-

wise border of the cloth which keep the web together from becoming threadbare by fluttering in the wind) 116; uṣṇīṣa 111; tārpya (silk or linen garment) 119; kṣhauma (linen) 119; metals: gold, ayas, lead, tin, śyāma and loha 123; origin of silver 123; washing for gold 125; hiranyakṛṣṇala 125; śatamāna 125; hiranyagarbha 125; various kinds of ornaments like opaśa, sraja, puṇḍarīśraja and bhoga 128; silver plates 130; loha 131; śyāma 131; sickle to cut and trim the sacred grass 132; dhruva (wooden sacrificial ladle having the largest bowl) 136; juhu (wooden ladle) 136; upabhṛt (wooden ladle) 136; wooden mace used in sacrifice 136; wooden Soma reservoir 136, 169; wooden instrument called sphya 136; wooden sacrificial posts 137; vanaspati (timber post) 137; piṭha (in piṭhasarpin), a wooden seat 137; āsandi (shining seat) whose use in ritual by a priest ensures sāmrājya for his client 133; waggon 138; boat 138; hide-dresser 139; dry skin-bag as sacrificial fee 140, 169 fn.; ritual shoes made of black antelope skin 140; mantras for repetition at every stage of the manufacture of Soma sacrificial drink 141; intoxicating effects of Soma drink; the story of Viśvarūpa 141; various kinds of altar-bricks 143—44; durya (door) 145 fn.; methi (pillar) 145 fn.; bhiṣak (physician) 150 fn.; physicians already came to be disliked 152, 152 fn., 154—55; knowledge not descent making a brāhmaṇa 155; setu (raised bank for crossing inundated land) 160 fn.; śatamāna (as a medium of exchange) 165; milching cows thrice a day 167; ukhā (cooking pot) 169; brahma-udana

169; cooking left to the wife 171; ointment 176; Isikā (annointing instrument) 176; origin of collyrium 176; gambling as one of the causes of indebtedness 171.

Taittiriya Saṃhitā—Keith's Eng. Trans. on separate ownership of land 82; father making common property with the son 83.

Tāndya Mahā Brāhmaṇa with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya critically edited by Paṇḍita A. Chinnaswāmī Śāstri 1935. on beef-eating 110; golden sraja (an ornament) 128.

Theogony of the Hindus—Count Bjornstjerne on the points of similarity between the religious systems of Ancient India and Egypt 19—20.

Therīgāthā on Benares cloth fetching 1000 pieces 220; Benares famous for her silk fabrics 221; manumission of slaves 253; Vimalā, a courtesan whose mother was also one 257; sātakas worth 1000 pieces of copper 274; Isidāsī reduced to slavery in one of her previous births on account of her father's debts 275; ādhi (deposit of pledges on which loan was granted) 257.

Therīgāthā commentary on Puṇḍā's admission into the Buddhist saṃgha only after she was emancipated by her master 254; woman working as keeper of burning ground though no wages are mentioned 256.

Times of India Illustrated Weekly (7th March, 1926) on the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus valley 12—16.

Tod's Rājasthāna—See under Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthāna—Col. Tod.

Travels of Marco Polo—Sir Henry Yule revised by Cordier on Indian dogs 164.

Uvāsagadasao—Eng. Trans. by A. F. R. Hoernle on the cities of Ālavi 180, Vārāṇasī 180, Champā 180, Indapatthā 181, Kāmpilya 181, Kośāmvī 181, Kuśinārā 181, Mithilā 112, Polāsapura 182, Pāṭaliputtaka 182, Rājagṛha 182, Sāṅkāśya 182, Śāketa 182, Setavya 182, Sagula 182, Sumsumāra 183, Takkaśālā 183, Ukkatṭha 183 and Vaiśālī 183; Vaiśālī was known as Vāṇiyagāma with Kulluga and Kundagāma as its suburbs 183; town-planning of Veśālī 185, 244; village of potters near Polāsapura 187, 225.

Vaijayanti—Yādavaprakāśa on the growth of villages into towns 183 fn.

Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra—Trans. into Eng. by George Buhler in the S. B. E. series vol. XIV. on the imposition of fines on village as a whole 190; village elders administering justice 190; distinction of royal domain from land of the ordinary landholders 191; mode of acquisition of property 191; proofs of title to property 192; provisions on the right of way and evidence in disputes regarding immovable property 192; acquiring property by usage 192—93; state management of the property of widows and minors 193; laws of inheritance and succession 193—95; one-sixth as the royal share of the wealth of the subjects 196; exemption from taxation 196; objects made of leather 226; objects made of bone and conchshell 229; actors condemned 249; the other condemned professions 249 fn.; āpaddharma 250; slaves exempted from taxation owing to loss of *persona* 253; Brahmins permitted to barter home-grown corn, food etc., 267; *likhita* (=I. O. U.) 271, 275; money-lending

condemned 274; six different kinds of interest 275, 277; two, three, four and five in the hundred is the monthly rate of interest according to caste 275, 277; interest on articles like gold, grain, beasts of burden etc., without security could be increased six or eight-fold 275, 277; interest stopped with the death of the king in whose reign the transaction took place 275; king's duty to maintain śrotriyas, the weak, the aged, women without means and lunatics 275; property other than a Brahmin's left ownerless reverts to the crown 193, 276; undue raising of prices condemned 277; those exempted from taxes 277; food of the money-lender who exacted more than the legal rate of interest was impure 277; king's duty to guard against the falsification of weights and measures 277; begging Brahmins denounced as thieves 278.

Vājasaneyi Samhitā—See under White Yajurveda.

Veda of the Black Yajur School—Keith  
See under Taittirīya Samhitā—Keith's  
Eng. Trans.

Vedic Index—Macdonell and Keith on Aryans having acquaintance with agriculture in the Indo-Iranian period 22; dāsa chiefs ruling over puras 23; private ownership of land 24, 82 fn.; viś and jana 24; monarchy as a well-established institution in the Rgvedic Age 25; rejection of Zimmer's view that the grāmaṇī was the president of the village council 25-26; use of sakṛt (manure) in the Rgvedic Age; well-irrigation in the Rgvedic Age 29-30; Yava meaning any kind of grain and not barley 82; cow, though its flesh was taken was gradually acquiring sanctity

even in the Rgvedic Age 33; salt in the Rgvedic Age 34; Vedic surā (as opposed to Soma) being a drink of ordinary life 35 fn., 54; no mention of horse-riding in war in the Rgveda 38; high social status of the rathakāra and the takṣan 45; vāya (weaver) 63; loha originally meaning copper later denoted iron 49; Agni and the sages as pathikṛt (path-makers) 66; oṭu 46 fn.; existence of longer vessels with many oars for sea voyages in the Rgvedic Age 68-69; paṇi 74; niṣka as a sort of currency 76; story of Manu dividing property among his sons 84 fn.; the epithet devourer of the subjects applied to the king indicates king's political superiority and not his ownership of the soil 85, 85 fn.; king's right to apportion the land with the consent of the clan as containing the germ of the later state-ownership of the soil 86 fn.; vali (king's revenue) 87-88, 88 fn.; only five seasons in the year 91 fn.; drāpi as a coat of mail 117 fn.; gold obtained from the bed of rivers 125 and from mines 125; vāya (weaver) 149; urdāra (a wooden vessel of definite size used in measuring grain) 164; kṛṣṇala, māṣa and other grains used as standards of weight in measuring precious metals 164; Vedic village 167; kṣattṛ: his functions 174;

Vedic India—Ragozin on early cultivation of the cotton plant or tree by the Indo-Aryans 49; navigation unknown to the Rgvedic Aryans 67.

Vedic Mythology—Macdonell on the cure of Ghoṣṭi's skin-disease 63; well-irrigation in the Rgvedic Age 29-30; story of Manu dividing property among his sons 84 fn.



Vedische Mythologie—A. Hillebrandt, revised and enlarged in two vols. 1927—29. on the preparation of Soma drink 34 fn.

Vedische Studien—Geldner on anūka as an ornament 51; the existence of the caste system in the R̥gvedic Age 58; prāvepa (looking glass) 135; harmyeṣṭhah prince 173-4.

Vedische Studien—Pischel (Vol. II.) on patsyasad [patsya (n) meaning a house] 55.

Vimānavattu commentary on the cities of Ayojjha 180, Vārāpasī 180, Kāmpilya 181, Kośāmvī 181, Madhurā 181, Mithilā 182, Sāgala 182, Sāketa 182 and Vaiśālī 183; female slaves fetching water 252; a slave-girl beaten to death 255; story of a slave-girl flying to the forest to commit suicide, unable to bear rude treatment 255—56; trade-route from Kauśāmvī through Sind to Sovira 264.

Vinaya Texts—Translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenburg in the S. B. E. series vols. XIII., XVII. and XX. on large holdings (of 8000 acres) 190; channels dug for co-operative irrigation likened to patch-work robe of the monks 200; hot-air baths 234; dagobās or topes 236; fresco-painting 237; physician's fee of 16,000 pieces for curing a merchant-prince's wife 239; a thief not to be ordained as a nun without the sanction of the guilds 244; guilds as arbitrators 244; parents discussing the best profession for their wards without a reference to the father's trade 246; low castes and low trades 248; fifty kahāpanas for one night as the fee of a courtesan (Amvapālī) 257; a Hindu merchant's seventh trading voyage on high seas 259; navigability by sea-

going ships of the Ganges and the Yamunā 264; taverns for the sale of liquor 265; hotels for the sale of cooked meat and rice 265; barter prescribed for the Buddhist Saṃgha in certain cases 207; suvarṇa and hiraṇya as media of exchange 269; one pāda was equal to five māśakas in Rājagṛha in Ajātasatru's time 270; the purchasing power of a copper kārṣāpana 273; debtors unfit for admission into the Buddhist Saṃgha 275; famine 280.

Wages Question, The—Walker on Indians abiding in their lot with oriental stoicism and fatalism 247.

Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation—La Couperie on maritime intercourse between India and China from about 680 B. C. 162; foundation of an Indian colony about the present Gulf of Kiao-tchea called Langga (after the Indian name of Lankā or Ceylon) 162.

White Yajurveda (together with the Kānva recension) on crops grown 93-94; forests supplying wild rice (nīvāra) 97, bdellium 97, animals 97 and honey 97; different kinds of trees 99, 100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108; 609 animals brought for the Horse-sacrifice 109-10; bullocks carrying loads 111; sacrifice of buffaloes 111; horses given as sacrificial fee 112; camel as an object of sacrifice 112; asses drawing the car of the Aśvins 113; boar as an object of sacrifice to Indra 113; elephant-keepers 113; fishing in rivers and lakes 114; fish-vendor 114; technical terms connected with weaving like otu (woof), vemān (loom) and mayukha (wooden pegs to stretch the web on or shuttle) 115; vāsas (cloth) 116; threads of wool

118; *metals*: gold, *ayas*, *śyāma*, *loha*, lead, tin and silver 122-23; goldsmith 124, 128 fn.; gold pieces 125 fn.; a circular gold disc or plate with 21 knobs used in sacrifice 125; gold needles used in sacrifice 125; *hiranya-garbha* 125; sacrificial cauldron with golden handles 126; golden ornaments 127, 128; various ornaments like neck-chain, *opāśa*, gold worn as amulet 128; golden trappings for horses 128; silver needles used in sacrifice 130; *loha* 131; *śyāma* 131; iron-smelter 131; blacksmith 131; receptacle hammered or formed with a tool of *ayas* 131; metal jug 131; sickle to cut the ripened grain 131; knife 131; iron axe 132; razor 132; fetters made of iron 132; lead needles used in sacrifice 132; armour 132; iron castles (used figuratively) 132; *sruva* (small wooden sacrificial ladle) 136; *sruca* (large wooden ladle) 136; wooden sacrificial spade 136; wooden Soma reservoir 136, 169; four-cornered sacrificial cups of *Khadira* wood 136; mortar-shaped cup of *Palāśa* wood 136; wooden Soma cups 136, 169; wooden mortar and pestle for extracting Soma juice 136, 169; wooden needles used in stitching together the folding doors of the cart-shed 136; fire shovel or poker made of *Palāśa* wood 136, 169; wooden instrument called *sphya* 136; wooden sacrificial posts 137; drupad (timber post) 137; thrones made of *Khadira* wood 137; *piṭha* (in *piṭhasarpin*), a wooden seat 137; *āsandi* (shining seat) 137, 138; *rājasandi* (shining seat for kings) 138; war-chariots 138;

carts 138, carriage 138; potter 140; *mṛṇmaya ukhā* (earthen cooking pot) 140, 169; *dvār* (door) 145; *durva* (door) 145; *durova* (door) 145; principal occupations of the people 148 fn., 148-51, 174; women splitting cane, working in thorns, doing embroidery work, dealing in love charms, washing and dyeing cloths and making scabbards and ointments 153; *gana* and *ganapati* 157; *vapij* (merchant) 158; references to the sea 161; *aritrām* (oar) 161; ship propelled by 100 oars 161; *tūla* (balance) 164, 271; women fetching water 172; birth of industrious women, a blessing which the Horse-sacrifice will bring to the king 172; ointment-maker (usually a female) 176, 153; duty of the state to protect the life and property of the subjects as also to promote their material welfare 176-77; ideal of happiness which the king prays to the gods for his country to attain 178.

White Yajurveda—Eng. Trans. by R. T. H. Griffith on different crops grown 94; the use of the timber of *Kārshamarya* tree (*Gmelina Arborea*) in making sacrificial ladles 100; *Kṛmuka* tree as furnishing kindling sticks for sacrificial purposes 100; goat as an object of sacrifice to *Vāyu* 112.

Yājñavalkya *Samhitā* on the right of collecting grass, fruits and flowers enjoyed by Brahmins 82.

*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen landischen Gesellschaft* (vol. IX.): Max Muller on the different implements mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtras* 224 fn.; (vol. LI.): Oldenburg on the existence of the caste system in the *Rgvedic* Age 58.

## II. Subject Index.

[ *The references are to the pages of this work* ]

### A

Agriculture, clearance of forests for purposes of, 28; implements for, 28-29; application of manure for, 29, 92-93; irrigation for, 12, 29-30, 93, 260; rainfall a necessity for, 11, 30, 199-200; prayers and charms for rainfall 30, 96; charms to avert inundation 93, 96; prayer for a bumper harvest 96; troubles the agriculturist had to contend with 95-96; agricultural operations 31-32, 92-93, 198-99; successive stages of, 198-99; rotation of crops 91; khila system of, 91-22; cultivation of land by peasant-proprietors 197-98; cultivation of lands belonging to others 198; measures for the protection of the crops 199; ceremonies connected with, 30-31, 96, 199; products of, 32, 93-94, 95, 200-02; position of women in relation to, 153-54.

Agriculture, not known to the Palæolithic Indians 1; in the Neolithic Age 3; in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic Age 11-12; known to the Aryans in the Indo-Iranian period 28; in the Rgvedic Age 23-24, 28-32; in the Brāhmaṇa period 90-96; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 197-202.

Agricultural products, in the Rgvedic Age 32; in the Brāhmaṇa period 93-94; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 95; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 200-02.

Agriculturist, status of the, in the Rgvedic Age 64; change for the worse in the Brāhmaṇa period 152, cf. 85.

Alchemy P (in the Age of the Rāmāyana) 133.

Arboriculture — See under Gardening, art of.

Architecture, in the *Neolithic Age*: thatched huts 3; prehistoric cemeteries 6; in the *Copper Age*: megalithic monuments of Coimbatore and Hyderabad Cairn burials 8-9; in the *Chalcolithic Age*: dwelling houses of Mohenjo Daro with brick-filling bath rooms and paved washing places near wells 14-15; a temple with a bath at Mohenjo Daro 15-16; the dwelling houses of Harappa, one of which had narrow walls and corridors 16; brick-structures like Hindu Samādhi's 16; in the *Rgvedic Age*: gṛha (a memorial structure erected over or beside the grave) 56; the harmya 56, 173-74; the vidatha (royal audience hall) etc. 57; in the *Brāhmaṇa period*: the ordinary dwelling house in which bamboo-work predominated 143; śmaśāna (memorial structures) of three kinds viz., vāstu, gṛha and prag-ñānam usually made of bricks or stones 144; timber architecture 145; āvasatha (a temporary structure for the reception of guests) 168; in the *Age of the Rāmāyana*: Kaikeyi's Mahala with its krodhāgāra, citragṛha, latāgṛha etc.



174; Ynvarāja Rāma's Mahala 174—75; Rāvaṇa's palace with its krodhāgāra, kāmagrha, divāvihāragrha, citragrha, latāgrha, artificial mountains made of wood etc. 175; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha*: thatched houses 230; seven-storied buildings 230; dharmasālā 230; āsana-sālā (resting place for travellers) 230; samsthāgāra (town-hall) 230—31; chaitya 231; kṛdāsālā, of which a portion was reserved for the reception of guests, a portion for the poor and the helpless and a portion for the delivery of helpless women 231; a privy with doors in which a lamp was kept burning the whole night 231; buildings of five kinds in which monks were permitted by the Buddha to live viz., vihāra, ardhayoga, prāsāda, harmya and gūhā 231—32; hot-air baths 234; open air bathing tanks with flights of steps 234; temples 236; Vaiṭhaka of Jarāsandha and the walls of Rājagrha 236; Kharḍagiri and Udayagiri caves 236; Dagobās or Topes 236; Piprawa Stupa 236.

Arts and crafts, in the *Paleolithic Age*: work in stone; work in bone 2; in the *Neolithic Age*: work in stone 3; pottery 3—4; gold-mining 4; pearl and conchshell industry 6; architecture: huts 3 and cemeteries 7; painting 4—5; sculpture 5—6; in the *Copper Age*: work in bronze 7, 8; work in silver 7; work in iron 8, 9; work in gold 8; pottery 8, 9; architecture: tombs of Cyclopean style in Tinnevely, Kurnool, Coimbatore and Anantapur districts 8—9; Hyderabad cairn burials 9; in the *Chalcolithic Age*: weaving 12; work in shell and terracotta 13; work in silver 13; work in gold 13; work in precious stones

13; work in ivory 13; work in copper 13; work in bronze 13; pottery 13—14; architecture 14—16; town-planning in Mohenjo Daro 14 and in Harappa 16; in the *Rgvedic Age*: weaving of wool 45—48 and of cotton 49; work in ayas 49—50; work in gold 50—52; carpentry 52—53; pottery 53; leather-work 54; manufacture of liquor 54; architecture 54—57; painting 57; sculpture 57; in the *Brāhmaṇa period*: weaving 115—22; mining 122—24; work in gold 124—30; work in silver 130; work in ayas and loha 130—33; work in bell-metal 133; work in brass 133; alchemy P 133; art of the jeweller 133—34; glass work P 134—35; carpentry 136—39; leather-work 139—40; pottery 140; work in ivory 140; manufacture of liquor 141—42; painting 142; sculpture 143—45; town-planning 145—48; arboriculture 103—04; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha*: work in iron 214—16; work in copper 216; work in silver 216; work in bell-metal 216; work in brass 216; work in gold 216—17; art of the jeweller 217—18, 214; weaving 218—22; carpentry 222—24; work in grass and reeds 224—25; pottery 225—26; leather-work 226—27; wine distilling 227—28; work in stone 228; work in ivory 228; work in bone, conchshell and coral 229; preparation of salt 229 and of molasses 229; dyeing 229; stiffening cloth with starch and polishing it with conch 229—30; curling cloth into a thousand folds before wearing it 230; architecture 230—36; sculpture 236—37; painting 237.

Articles of foreign trade, in prehistoric times 17-18; 20-21, 72; in the *Rgvedic*

Age 71 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 163-64 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 162 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 260, 262.

Articles of domestic trade in the Rgvedic Age 65 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 158 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 158 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 265.

Aryans acquainted with agriculture in the Indo-Iranian period 22-23.

Āsava 171.

Ayas, in the Rgvedic Age 49-50 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 130-31.

## B

Barter, in the Rgvedic Age 75 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 164 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 267-68.

Beef-eating, in the Chalcolithic Age 12 ; in the Rgvedic Age 33 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 110-11.

Bell-metal industry, in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 133 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 216.

Borax 123, 125.

Brass industry, in the Brāhmaṇa period 133 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 133 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 216.

Bronze industry in the Copper Age 78 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 13.

Burma find 1, 2.

## C

Canal irrigation, in the Rgvedic Age 29 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 93.

Carpentry, in the Rgvedic Age 52-53 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 136-39 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 139 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 222-24.

Caste system in relation to mobility of labour, in the Rgvedic Age 58-62 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 154-56 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 244, 246-50.

Cattle-rearing, in the Chalcolithic Age 12 ; in the Rgvedic Age 35-41 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 109-13 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 211.

Ceremonies connected with agriculture, in the Rgvedic Age 30-31 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 96 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 199.

Chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley, its affinity with Sumerian culture 11, 16-17 ; prosperous agriculture on a flat plain subject to floods 11 ; ampler rainfall than today: evidences for it 11-12 ; crops grown: wheat and cotton 12 ; hunting, fishing and weaving industries 12 ; dress and ornaments of the people 12-13 ; work in shell and terracotta, in silver, in gold, in precious stones, in bronze and copper 13 ; pottery 13-14 ; dwelling houses at Mohenjo Daro 14-15 and at Harappa 16 ; a temple and a public bath at Mohenjo Daro 15-16 ; town-planning at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa 14, 16 ; internal trade 16-21.

Character of foreign trade in Ancient India 280.

Civic consciousness in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 148.

Civilisation of the Copper Age : work in copper 7, 9 ; in bronze 7, 8 ; in silver 7 ; in iron 8 ; in gold 8 ; pottery 8, 9 ; architecture : Cyclopean style of construction of the tombs 8-9 ; probable Egyptian influence on the pottery and on the construction of the tombs of this

age 8-9 ; methods and media of exchange 9—10.

Classification of villages 186—87.

Combination between merchants, in the Rgvedic Age 74—75 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 242, 263, 267.

Competition determining prices, in the Rgvedic Age 65—66 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 265—66.

Conchshell industry, in the Neolithic Age 6 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 13, 16 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 229.

Copper Age antiquities 7—9.

Copper industry, in the Copper Age 7, 8, 9 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 13 ; in the Rgvedic Age 49-50 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 130-31 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 216.

Coral, work in, in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 124, 134 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 212, 229.

Cornering 266.

Corporate life in the towns (in the Age of Gautama Buddha) 185—86.

Corporate life in the villages, in the Rgvedic Age 25—26 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 188—90.

Cotton, cultivation of, in the Chalcolithic Age 12 ; in the Rgvedic Age 49 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 119-20 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 220.

Cotton industry, in the Chalcolithic Age 12 ; in the Rgvedic Age 49 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 119-20 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 219-20.

Cow as a standard of value, in the Rgvedic Age 9-10, 75 ; in the Age of Pāṇini 268 ; in the Sūtra period 268.

Cowry-shell as a standard of value (in the Jātaka period) 268.

Craft-guilds—*See* under Guilds.

Currency, in prehistoric times 9-10 ; in the Rgvedic Age 75—77 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 164—67 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 268—71. For details *See* under Methods and Media of exchange.

Custom influencing prices 266.

## D

Dealing in futures 266.

Dignity of labour, in the Rgvedic Age 61-62 ; loss of this dignity in the Brāhmaṇa period 152, 154-55 and in the Age of Gautama Buddha 243—49.

Domestic furniture, in the Rgvedic Age 53 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 168 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 169 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 217, 222—23.

Domestic economy, in the Rgvedic Age 64—65 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 153-54, 171—72.

Domestic trade, in the Chalcolithic Age 16 ; in the Rgvedic Age 65—67 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 158—60 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 262—67.

Domestic utensils, in the Neolithic Age 3 ; in the Copper Age 8 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 13 ; in the Rgvedic Age 50, 53, 54 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 168—69 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 215-17.

Domesticated animals—*See* under Cattle-rearing.

Drainage system, (in the towns of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa in the Chalcolithic Age) 11 and in Benares in the Age of Gautama Buddha 180.



Dress of the people, in the Chalcolithic Age 12—13; in the R̥gvedic Age 47—48; in the Brāhmaṇa period 117—18; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 219, 229—30.

Dried fish as food 227.

Duties levied by the king 277.

Dyeing industry 229.

## E

Economic condition of the classes and the masses—*See* under General economic condition of the classes and the masses.

Excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa 11—16.

Exemption from taxation 277.

Extent of Aryan expansion in the R̥gvedic Age 22; in the Brāhmaṇa period 81.

## F

Falsification of weights and measures condemned 277.

Famine; in the R̥gvedic Age 80; in the Brāhmaṇa period 96—97; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 279—80.

Famine relief 276.

Female labour, in the R̥gvedic Age 64—65; in the Brāhmaṇa period 153—54, 171—72; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 256—67.

Fishing, in the Chalcolithic Age 12; in the R̥gvedic Age 33, 44; in the Brāhmaṇa period 114, 170—71; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 212.

Food of the people, in the Palæolithic Age 2; in the Neolithic Age 3; in the Copper Age 8; in the Chalcolithic Age 12; in the R̥gvedic Age 32—33; in the Brāhmaṇa period 169—71.

Forced labour 276—77, 279.

Foreign trade of India, in the Chalcolithic Age 16—21; in the R̥gvedic Age 69—71; in the Brāhmaṇa period 162—64; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 261—62, 280. For details *See* under Trade of India, Articles of foreign trade and Maritime trade-routes.

Forests and their economic importance, in the R̥gvedic Age 41—43; in the Brāhmaṇa period 97—109; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 202—09.

Free labourers, their dignified status in the R̥gvedic Age 61—62; loss of their former status in the Brāhmaṇa period 152, 154—55 and in the Age of Gautama Buddha 248—49; their frivolous though gay life 251; their general economic condition 251.

Fruits, in the R̥gvedic Age 33; in the Brāhmaṇa period 105; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 207—08.

## G

Gardening, art of, in the Age of the Rāmāyana 103—04; in the Jātaka period 213; in the Sūtra period 213.

General economic condition of the classes and the masses, in the R̥gvedic Age 77—80; in the Brāhmaṇa period 167—77; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 278—80.

Geographical mobility of labour 247.

Glass industry? (in the Brāhmaṇa period) 134—35.

Godavari flake 1, 2.

Gold industry, in the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages 4; in the Chalcolithic Age 13; in the R̥gvedic Age 50—52; in the

Brāhmaṇa period 124—29 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 129—30 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 216—17.

Grass : its different varieties, in the Rgvedic Age 43 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 108 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 209.

Grass, work in, 224—25.

Guilds, in the Rgvedic Age 74—75 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 156—58 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 258 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 242—43 : their organisation 157, 243, 245 ; their three principal characteristics : (1) an Alderman at the head 243, (2) hereditary of profession 244 (3) localisation of industry 243-44 ; their legislative, judicial and executive functions 244.

Gungeria hoard 7.

## H

Haggling over prices 65-66, 265.

Herbs, in the Rgvedic Age 43 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 105—07 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 208—09.

Hoarding of wealth 274.

Horse-racing (in the Rgvedic Age) 39.

Horse-riding (in the Rgvedic Age) 38—39.

Horticulture—*See* under Gardening, art of.

House-building : thatched huts in the Neolithic Age 3 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 14-15, 16 ; in the Rgvedic Age 54-57 ; 173-74 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 143-45, 167-68, 174-75 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 174-75 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 210—34, 235. For details *See* under Architecture.

Hunting, in the Palæolithic Age 1 ; in the Neolithic Age 3 ; in the Chalcolithic

Age 12 ; in the Rgvedic Age 43-44 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 113-14 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 211—12.

## I

Indebtedness of the people—*See* under Loans.

Indian trade or commerce with Arabia, Assyria, Babylon, Burma, Ceylon, Chaldaea, China, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and Phoenicia—*See* under Trade of India.

Inheritance—*See* under Law of inheritance.

Inland trade-routes, in the Chalcolithic Age 16 ; in the Rgvedic Age 66 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 159-61 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 263—64.

Internal trade—*See* under Domestic trade.

Instruments of credit 271, 271 fn.

Iron, in the Neolithic settlement in the Bellary district 4 fn. ; articles made of iron found in the burial sites of Adichanallur in Tinnevely 8 ; in the Rgvedic Age ? 49-50 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period ? 131 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 131-33 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 214—16.

Irrigation, in the Chalcolithic Age 12 ; in the Rgvedic Age 29-30 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 93 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 260.

Ivory, work in, in the Age of the Rāmāyana 140 ; in the Jātaka period 228.

## J

Jewellery, in the prehistoric burial sites at Adichanallur in Tinnevely 8 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 13 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 133 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 133-34 ; in the Age of

Gautama Buddha 217—18; in the Piprawa stupa 214.

## K

Khila system of cultivation 91-92.

Kilāla, a variety of surā 142, 227.

## L

Labour—*See* under Free labourers and Slavery.

Land-ownership—*See* under Land system.

Land revenue, the amount of the royal share in the Brāhmaṇa period 88 and in the Age of Gautama Buddha 195—96; payable either in cash or in kind 88, 197; land survey 196; land revenue administration 193—97.

Land system: division of land into vāstu, arable land, pasture and forests; vāstu and arable land in individual ownership and pasture and forests in communal ownership 23-24, 82, 191—93; land belonged to the members of the joint family in common 82—84; transfer of land 84; feeling against land-transfer in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 85; no state-landlordism in the R̥gvedic Age 24—25, in the Brāhmaṇa period 85—87 and in the Age of Gautama Buddha 190-91; royal domain 190-91; land revenue in the R̥gvedic Age 25, in the Brāhmaṇa period 87—88 and in the Age of Gautama Buddha 195—97; land tenure 197-98; rise of landed aristocrats and its causes 88—89, 173; an ideal economic holding according to Baudhāyana 190.

Land tenure: peasant-proprietorship 197-98; bhāgchāsa 198; Zamindari system 88-89, 173.

Landed aristocracy, causes favouring the growth of, (in the Brāhmaṇa period) 88-89, 173.

Law of inheritance in the R̥gvedic Age 89; in the Brāhmaṇa period 89—90; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 193—95.

Leather-work, in the R̥gvedic Age 54; in the Brāhmaṇa period 139-40; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 226—27.

Linen industry, in the Brāhmaṇa period 119; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 120—21; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 220—21.

Loans, in the R̥gvedic Age 79-80; in the Brāhmaṇa period 177; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 274-75, 279.

Localisation of arts and crafts 243—44, cf. 184, 185.

Low castes and low trades 248—49.

## M

Manufacture of liquor, in the R̥gvedic Age 34-35, 54; in the Brāhmaṇa period 141-42; in the Age of the Rāmāyana 142; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 227—29.

Manure in the R̥gvedic Age 29; in the Brāhmaṇa period 92—93.

Maritime trade—*See* under sea-borne trade.

Maritime trade-routes, in the R̥gvedic Age 70, 73—74; in the Brāhmaṇa period 163; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 261.

Meat-eating, in the Palaeolithic Age 2; in the Neolithic Age 3; in the Chalcolithic Age 12; in the R̥gvedic Age 33; in the Brāhmaṇa period 110—13, 170.

Mendicancy, condemnation of, 278.



Merchants' guild—*See* under Guilds.

Methods and Media of exchange, in *prehistoric times*: during the pastoral stage cow as the medium of exchange 9—10; in the agricultural stage when commerce developed itself garments and coverlets served as measures of value 10; punch-marked coins with prehistoric symbols on them 10; finds of coins of the *Chalcolithic Age* at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa 11; in the *Rgvedic Age*: cow as a medium of exchange 75; *niṣka* 75—77, *māna* 77 and *hiranyapiṇḍa* as metallic media of exchange; was the *niṣka* a coin? 76; in the *Brāhmaṇa period*: barter 164; *niṣka* 164—65, *śatamāna* 165—66, *suvarṇa* 166, *pāda* 166—67; *kṛpāla* 167 as metallic media of exchange; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha*: barter 267—68; rice, cowry-shell and the cow as media of exchange 268; *kākapika*, *ardhamāṣaka*, *māṣaka*, quarter *kārṣa*, half *kārṣa*, *kārṣāṇa*, *pāda*, *pāṇa*, *śatamāna*, *niṣka*, *suvarṇa*, *hiranya*, *kaṇṣa* and *vista* as metallic media of exchange 269—70; stamped impressions on some of the media of exchange 269.

Milk and preparations from milk, in the *Rgvedic Age* 34, in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 110, 171.

Mining and metal industries, in the *Copper Age* 7—9; in the *Chalcolithic Age* 12—13; in the *Rgvedic Age* 49—52; in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 122—35; the *Age of Gautama Buddha* 209—10, 214—18.

Mixed metal industries: *bell-metal*: in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 133; in the *Age of the Rāmāyana* 133; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha* 216; *brass*, in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 133; in the *Age of*

the *Rāmāyana* 133; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha* 216; *bronze*, in the *Chalcolithic Age* 13.

Mobility of labour—*See* under *Caste system* in relation to mobility of labour.

Molasses, preparation of, 229.

Moneylending—*See* under *Loans*.

Monsoons, discovery of, 74.

## N

Navigation in the *Rgvedic Age* 67—74; in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 160—63; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha* 256—59, 262.

Neolithic civilisation: knowledge of agriculture: its evidences 3; articles for domestic use betraying fascination for colour 3; polished work in stone 3; pottery 3—4; gold-mining 4; rock-paintings near Singapur in C. P. 4—5, in Kapgalla in Bellary district 5 and the cave-paintings in the Kymore ranges 5; sculpture in the Edakal cave, Wynad 5—6; knowledge of thatched huts 3; use of cemeteries and graves 6; pearl-fishery and conch-shell industry 6.

No Bronze Age in India 7.

No Copper Age in South India 7.

No Golden Age in prehistoric times 1.

No state-landlordism in the *Rgvedic Age* 24—25; in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 85—87; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha* 190—91.

## O

Occupations of the people, in the *Rgvedic Age* 62—64; in the *Brāhmaṇa period* 148—52; in the *Age of Gautama Buddha* 237—42.

Origin of villages, in the Rgvedic Age 25 ;  
in the Age of Gautama Buddha 186  
—88.

Ornaments, in the Copper Age 7, 8 ; in the  
Chalcolithic Age 12—13 ; in the Rgvedic  
Age 51—52 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period  
127—29 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa  
129—30, 133, 133—34 ; in the Age of  
Gautama Buddha 217—18.

## P

Painting in the Neolithic Age 4—5 ; in  
the Rgvedic Age 57 ; in the Brāhmaṇa  
period 142 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa  
142 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha  
237.

Palæolithic civilisation : Palæolithic settle-  
ments not only near rocks suitable for  
fashioning tools but also near rivers and  
lakes 2 ; no private property in land,  
no division of labour, no knowledge of  
metals or of pottery 1 ; stone tools and  
weapons 1 ; bone weapons and imple-  
ments in the Billa Surgam caves of  
Karnaul 2 ; smoked flesh as food 2.

Pātna, an intoxicating drink 35, 54.

Parisrut, 142.

Partnership 267.

Pearlfishing in the Neolithic Age 6 ; in the  
Rgvedic Age 44 ; in the Brāhmaṇa  
period 114—15 ; in the Age of the  
Rāmāyaṇa 124, 129, 134 ; in the Age  
of Gautama Buddha 212, 217, 218.

Pig-culture 211.

Piprawa Stupa : excellence of its construc-  
tion and of the jewellery it contains  
214.

Plants in the Rgvedic Age 43 ; in the  
Brāhmaṇa period 105—08 ; in the Age

of Gautama Buddha 206—07 ; 208  
—09.

Ports of departure from India 262.

Poultry-farming 211.

Precious stones, in the Chalcolithic Age  
13, 16 ; in the Rgvedic-Age 71, 72 ; in  
the Brāhmaṇa period 163—64 ; in the  
Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 124, 129, 134 ;  
in the Age of Gautama Buddha 214,  
218, 262.

Prices, influence of competition on, 65—  
56, 265—66 ; influence of custom on,  
266 ; state control of, 277.

Private ownership of land, in the Rgvedic  
Age 23—24 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period  
82—85 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha  
191—93.

Protection of the crops 199.

Purchasing power of money (in the Jātaka  
period) 272—74.

Puruṣa Sūkta hymn, dealing with a theory  
of creation, not of caste 60—61.

## R

Raising of prices, condemnation of, 277.

Rate of interest, in the Rgvedic Age 79 ;  
in the Brāhmaṇa period 177 ; in the  
Sūtra period 274—75.

Reeds, in the Rgvedic Age 43 ; in the  
Brāhmaṇa period 108—09 ; in the Age  
of Gautama Buddha 209.

Regulation of prices 266, 277.

Relative value of gold and silver 271.

Rice as a standard of value (in the Jātaka  
period) 268.

Rotation of crops 91, 91 fn.

Royal revenue, in the Brāhmaṇa period 87—88 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 195—97, 210—11, 276—77, 279.

## S

Salt industry, in the R̥gvedic Age 33—34 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 34 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 229.

Sculpture, in the Neolithic Age 5—6 ; in the R̥gvedic Age 57—58 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 142 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 142 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 236—37.

Sea-borne trade, in the R̥gvedic Age 67—74 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 160—64 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 257—62.

Seasons in the Vedic Age 91 fn.

Ship-building industry, in the R̥gvedic Age (a vessel with 100 oars) 63 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period (vessels having two rudders) 139, 161 ; in the Jātaka period 259—60.

Silk industry, in the Brāhmaṇa period 119 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 121—22 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 221.

Silver, work in, in the Copper Age 7 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 130 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 130 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 216.

Slavery, in the R̥gvedic Age 64, 153 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 153 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 252—56.

Slaves, the classification of, 252 ; causes of slavery 252, 79 ; status of, 252—54, 153, 64 ; usual duties of, 153, 252 ; manumission of, 253 ; their lot far better than that of the Greek or Roman slaves 254—56 ; no slave-market 153 ; slavery

did not become the basis of husbandry 64, 152.

Soma drink, in the R̥gvedic Age 34-35, 54 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 141-42.

State control over prices 277.

State protection to the śrotriyas, the weak, the aged, women without means and the lunatics 276.

State protection of the property of infants 276.

Stone, work in, in the Palæolithic Age 1, 2 ; in the Neolithic Age 3 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 228.

Successive stages of agriculture 198—99.

Surā, in the R̥gvedic Age 35, 54 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 142, 171 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 227.

State help to the famine-stricken 276.

State in relation to economic life, in the Brāhmaṇa period 177-78 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 178 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 275—78.

## T

Tin, in the Chalcolithic Age 13 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 122, 123 ; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 123.

Tools and weapons, in the Palæolithic Age 1-2 ; in the Neolithic Age 3 ; in the Copper Age 7 ; in the Chalcolithic Age 13 ; in the R̥gvedic Age 50 ; in the Brāhmaṇa period 131-32 ; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 215.

Towns, origin of, 183-84 ; division into wards 185 ; parks in, 183 ; avenues of trees in, 101 fn., 147 ; harbours of trees in, 213, 147 ; town-hall 230-31 ; main buildings in, 147 ; town-planning 16,



145—47, 184-85; corporate life in, 185—86.

Towns in the Chalcolithic Age 14—16; in the R̥gvedic Age 26-28; in the Brāhmaṇa period 81-82; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 179—86.

Town-planning, in the Chalcolithic Age (at Harappa, specially at Mohenjo Daro) 16; in the Brāhmaṇa period 145—47; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 147; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 184—85.

Trade of India, with *Arabia* in prehistoric times 72, in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 161; with *Assyria* in the Brāhmaṇa period 163, in the Age of Gautama Buddha 260; with *Babylon* in prehistoric times 16-17, 72-73, in the Brāhmaṇa period 162-63, in the Age of Gautama Buddha 260; with *Burma* (*Suvarṇabhūmi*) 261; with *Ceylon* 261; with *Chaldea* 72; with *China* 161-62; with *Egypt* in prehistoric times 17-21, 70-71; with *Mesopotamia* in prehistoric times 16-17, 70-71; with *Persia* in prehistoric times 16-17, 69-70, in the Brāhmaṇa period 163, in the Age of Gautama Buddha 261; with *Phoenicia* in prehistoric times 69—70.

Trade-routes in the Chalcolithic Age 16; in the R̥gvedic Age 66, 70, 73-74; in the Brāhmaṇa period 159-60, 163; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 261, 263—64.

Trees, in the R̥gvedic Age 42; in the Brāhmaṇa period 98—105; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 204—08.

## U

Use of the horse in war in the R̥gvedic Age 38—39.

Usury, 275; usurers organised into guilds 275; their exactions condemned 277.

## V

Villages, origin of, 25, 183—88; classification of, 186—87; administrative machinery of, 25—26; corporate activity in, 25—26, 188—90.

## W

Weaving industry, in the Chalcolithic Age 12; in the R̥gvedic Age 45—49, in the Brāhmaṇa period 115—20; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 120—21; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 218—22. For details *See* under cotton, linen, silk and woolen industries.

Weights and measures, in the R̥gvedic Age 77; in the Brāhmaṇa period 164, 271; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 271—72.

Wine-distilling—*See* under Manufacture of liquor.

Woolen industry, in the R̥gvedic Age 48; in the Brāhmaṇa period 118—19; in the Age of the Rāmāyaṇa 121; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 221—22.

Work in bones, in the Palæolithic Age 2; in the Age of Gautama Buddha 229.

Work in corals—*See* under Coral, work in.

Work in grass and reeds—*See* under Grass, work in.

Work in horn 229.

Work in stone—*See* under Stone, work in.

## Index III. Proper Names.

[ *The references are to the pages of this work* ]

### A

- Aboasin (= the Indus) 19.  
 Abyssinia 19.  
 Abyssinians 20.  
 Aciravali river 182.  
 Aden 7.  
 Adichanallur 8, 18.  
 Ādityas 80.  
 Ælian 210.  
 Agastya 105 fn., 111.  
 Agni 26, 37, 66, 83, 125, 153 fn., 159, 177.  
 Agra 27, 33, 135.  
 Ahimsa sacrifices 239.  
 Ajantā caves 232.  
 Ajātaśatru, King 156, 184, 278.  
 Ajigarta 82.  
 Ākhurāja 199.  
 Akkad 72, 73.  
 Akkadian 77.  
 Al-Uhaid 17.  
 Alexander 77, 236.  
 Alexandria 73.  
 Allahabad 181.  
 Ālavī 180.  
 Amara (sirpha) 206, 207 fn.  
 Amenophis 19.  
 America 280.  
 Amitratāpanā 273 fn.  
 Amulya Ch. Sen 257 fn.  
 Amvapālī 192, 257.  
 Anantapura 4, 8, 18.  
 Anāthapīḍaka 192, 254, 255.  
 Andhapura 180.  
 Andhras 81.  
 Andrew Lang 61.  
 Anga 95, 97, 180.  
 Angirasas, the 168.  
 Anghā 199.  
 Angul 2.  
 Anupiya city 180.  
 Anurādhapura 234 fn.  
 Ānandakumāra 259.  
 Apalā 24.  
 Āpasthamva 186, 192 fn., 193 fn., 194, 195,  
     203 fn., 244, 244 fn., 249 fn., 250, 267fn.,  
     268 fn., 276, 276 fn., 277 fn.  
 Āptaryāma 141.  
 Arabia 70, 72, 74, 163.  
 Arabian Sea 69, 70.  
 Aradā 199.  
 Aradus, isle 70.  
 Aramic script 73.  
 Arāti 47.  
 Arcot 9 fn.  
 Ariṣṭapura city 180.  
 Aristobulus 199.  
 Armenia 73.  
 Arrian 77, 163, 200 fn., 212 fn., 226 fn.,  
     228 fn.  
 Asitāñjana city 180.  
 Asmodeus 106.  
 Āśoka forest 103, 122, 147.  
 Assakenoi, the 163.  
 Assapura 180.  
 Assyria 72, 133.  
 Assyrian 163, 260.  
 Astakenoi, the 163.  
 Āśvamedha 110, 111, 126.

Aśvapati, King 156.  
 Aświnī 28, 40, 96, 112, 113, 154.  
 Āsanga 78.  
 Āsandhivat 81.  
 Atithigva 78.  
 Atirātra rite 141.  
 Atri 24.  
 Atṭaka city 180.  
 Attock 19.  
 Ātavi 180.  
 Avantī 183.  
 Ayodhyā kingdom 95, 120, 124, 142.  
 Ayodhyā city 95, 101 fn., 105 fn., 121,  
 122, 133, 146, 147, 148, 180, 182.  
 Ayojjhā city = Ayodhyā 180.  
 Ayomukha mountain 124.

## B

Babylon 17, 21, 70, 71 fn., 146, 163, 260,  
 262, 267.  
 Babylonians 164.  
 Baecanalia 227.  
 Bactrian 163.  
 Baden Powell 64.  
 Bahlhika 112, 158.  
 Balfour S. H. 49.  
 Balkh 74.  
 Ball, V. 70, 210, 210 fn.  
 Ballensen, Dr. 57.  
 Barker 19 fn.  
 Barley island 162 fn.  
 Baroda 4.  
 Barygaza 164.  
 Baudhāyana 141, 163, 186, 190, 193 fn.,  
 194, 195, 196, 203 fn., 248, 250, 250 fn.  
 260, 268 fn., 274, 275 fn., 276.  
 Bāli 124.  
 Beal 236 fn.  
 Bellary 3, 4, 4 fn., 5.  
 Beluchistan 4, 11, 14, 17.  
 Benares 27, 179, 180, 181, 185, 186, 187,  
 220, 221, 224, 228, 238, 239, 251, 264,  
 265, 267, 273 fn., 274, 279.

Bengal 231.  
 Beśāra 183.  
 Bhadravātikā 180.  
 Bhaga 137, 157 fn., 199.  
 Bhaṇḍagāma 264.  
 Bhāṇḍārkāra D. R. 9.  
 Bhārut Topes 233 fn.  
 Bharadwāja 33, 56, 121.  
 Bharata 95, 121, 122, 124, 133, 158, 178.  
 Bhava 79.  
 Bhujya 68.  
 Bihar 81.  
 Bijnai river 2.  
 Billa Sangam 2.  
 Birś Nimrod 163.  
 Bjornstjirna, Count 20 fn.  
 Blanford H. F. 1 fn.  
 Bloomfield 51 fn., 150 fn.  
 Blue river 19.  
 Bodhisattva 231, 237.  
 Bohlen Von 71.  
 Bohtlingh 166.  
 Book of Genesis 20.  
 Brahmā 147.  
 Brāhmi alphabet 260.  
 Brhadratha 153 fn.  
 Brahmottara city 180.  
 Brhaspati 30, 172.  
 Broach 16, 164, 260, 261.  
 Bruce Foote 3 fn., 4 fn., 5 fn.  
 Br̥vu 79.  
 Buddha, the 179, 181, 192, 200, 219, 231,  
 236, 239, 245, 251, 254, 255, 261, 278.  
 Buddhaghōṣa 231 fn., 233 fn.  
 Bühler 67, 260.  
 Burma 261, 262.  
 Burma find 1.  
 Byzantine 76.

## C

Calcutta 27.  
 Caldwell, Dr. 71, 71 fn., 260.  
 Cambay 16.



Cary 214 fn.  
 Caspian Sea 73.  
 Cathedral Cave of Billa Surgam 2.  
 Ceylon 162, 261, 264.  
 Ceylonese 135.  
 Chakravarman 248.  
 Chakradharpur 2.  
 Chaldaea 72, 230.  
 Champā city 179, 180, 261, 264.  
 Chandragupta Maurya 82.  
 Chavadipaleiyam 10.  
 Chedi 78, 183.  
 Chik Mulangi lake 2.  
 Childers 191 fn., 270 fn.  
 China 162, 163.  
 Chitra, king 79.  
 Chitrakūṭa hill 123.  
 Chunda 244.  
 Chrysostom 210.  
 Cockburn J. 5, 6.  
 Coimbatore 8.  
 Colebrooke 245 fn.  
 Cretan 16.  
 Ctesias *See* under Ktesias.  
 Cuddapah 2, 4.  
 Cunningham 181, 183, 236.  
 Cutch 11.  
 Cuvier 19.  
 Cyavana 43 fn., 63.  
 Cyrus, king 163.

## D

Dakṣiṇāpatha 95.  
 Dapdaka forest 120, 121.  
 Daniell C. 280 fn.  
 Dantapura city 180—81, 262.  
 Darada 210.  
 Darāda 210.  
 Dardiṣṭhān 210.  
 Darila 108.  
 Darius 74, 163, 209, 210, 261, 280.  
 Darśa rāte 141.

Daśaratha 120, 121, 122, 129, 133.  
 David 70.  
 Day, Dr. 69.  
 Dayārāma Sahni 11.  
 D'Anville 73.  
 Decan, the 71, 99 fn. 104 fn. 105 fn. 124.  
 Dedan 70.  
 Deir—el—Bahari 17, 72.  
 Delhi 27.  
 Deśaka city 181.  
 Davadatta 181.  
 Devapi 156.  
 Dhanapāli 255.  
 Dhanwantari 42.  
 Dhenkenal 2.  
 Digha Kārayana 185.  
 Dionysia 227.  
 Dioscorides 114.  
 Divodāsa 27, 78.  
 Dīrgha Cārāyapa 185.  
 D. R. Bhandarkar 76, 271.  
 Drāviḍa country 95, 181, 207 fn.  
 Dravidians 163.  
 Dṛṣadvati, river 81.  
 Durgācārya 52.  
 Dutugaimuna 135.  
 Dvārāvati, port 262.

## E

Eabani 17.  
 East End 185.  
 Edakal cave 5.  
 Edda 40.  
 Eggeling, Professor 166.  
 Egypt 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 61, 71, 72,  
 74, 280.  
 Egyptians 20, 21, 69, 125.  
 Elam 17.  
 Elliot 10.  
 Elliot Smith 6.  
 Erythral 210.  
 Esubius 18, 19.

Esukari 237.  
 Estaşa 39.  
 Ethiopia 18.  
 Ethiopians 19.  
 Euphrates 72, 73 fn., 77.  
 Ezion—Geber 70.

## F

Faizabad district 182.  
 Farakkabad District 182.  
 Fatepur Sikri 224.  
 Fausboll 256 fn.  
 Fawcett, F. 5 fn.  
 Fergusson 10.  
 Fick, Dr. 228, 257.  
 Finidis (= Phœnicia) 69.  
 Foulkes, T. Rev. 21, 71, 261.  
 Frazer 3.  
 Frazer, R. W. 61, 67.

## G

Gambia, river 19.  
 Gambhīrapattana, port 181, 262.  
 Gandhakūṭīra monastery 228, 234.  
 Ganga 22.  
 Ganges canal 10.  
 Gautama Buddha 253.  
 Gautama, law-giver 191, 192, 194, 195 fn.,  
 196, 203 fn., 210, 244, 249 fn., 250, 250  
 fn., 267 fn. 274, 275, 275 fn., 276, 276 fn.,  
 277, 277 fn.  
 Gayā 264.  
 Gāndhāra 48, 222, 261, 265.  
 Gāndhārāns 40.  
 Gedrosia 74.  
 Geldner 26, 51, 58, 135, 156.  
 Ghāt mountains 164.  
 Ghātsīlā 2.  
 Ghoṣā 63.  
 Ghoṣīlā 236.  
 Gilead 20.  
 Girivraja 149 fn., 184.

Godāvarī, river 105 fn.  
 Godāvarī flake 1.  
 Golden Forest 121.  
 Golden Chersonese 261 fn.  
 Goldstucker 119, 269.  
 Gomai river 22.  
 Gomati, river 22.  
 Gonaddha 264.  
 Gonda District 182.  
 Gorakhpur 131.  
 Gotama (= the Buddha) 253.  
 Gowland 4 fn.  
 Greece 9, 21, 61, 153.  
 Greeks 199, 210.  
 Griffith 42 fn., 43 fn., 57, 57 fn., 58 fn., 65,  
 66 fn., 68 fn., 93, 93 fn., 94 fn., 98 fn.,  
 99 fn., 105 fn., 109, 112 fn., 139 fn.  
 Guntur 2.

## H

Hakra, river 11.  
 Hall 73 fn.  
 Halidda-vanśa, nigama 181.  
 Hanumāna 121, 122, 124, 148, 175.  
 Hansa League 266.  
 Harappa 11, 13, 16, 28, 73 fn.  
 Hatasu 18, 72.  
 Hattigāma 264.  
 Haug 34 fn., 141 fn.  
 Havell, E. B. 145, 145 fn., 146, 183.  
 Hazra, mountain 184.  
 Hājipura 183.  
 Hebrew 21, 71.  
 Heera lake 2.  
 Heeren 19 fn., 20, 71.  
 Herodotus 179, 202, 209, 209 fn., 210, 210  
 fn., 214, 214 fn., 260, 262 fn., 289 fn.  
 Hewitt 72, 163.  
 Hibbert Lectures 17, 72.  
 Hillebrandt 34 fn., 224 fn.  
 Himalayan regions 113.  
 Hindukush mountain 73.

Hippalus 74.  
 Hiram 70, 71.  
 Hirt, Hermann 22 fn.  
 Hiuen Tsang 226.  
 Hoernle A. F. R. 180 fn., 182 fn., 183 fn.  
 Homer 229.  
 Hopkins 67, 85 fn., 157.  
 Horace 70 fn.  
 Humboldt 162 fn.  
 Hunt E. H. 9, 9 fn., 18.

## I

Iarchus 19.  
 Idumeans 70.  
 Illiad 229.  
 Illusa 155.  
 Indāpattha city 181.  
 Indian Ocean 162, 261.  
 Indra 9, 10, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34,  
 36, 39, 40, 47, 48, 53, 55, 56, 57, 62, 69,  
 75, 77, 80, 82, 87, 113, 147, 153 fn., 159,  
 176, 179.  
 Indrāṇi 118 fn.  
 Iroquois, the 61.  
 Isa 19.  
 Ishmelites 20.  
 Isidāsi 275.  
 Isis 19.

## J

Jacob 21.  
 Jahnus, the 156.  
 Janaka, 120, 121, 156, 166, 167, 173.  
 Janas ruti 89, 173.  
 Janasruteya 82.  
 Janmenjaya 82.  
 Jarāsandha 236.  
 Jāvā 152 fn.  
 Jāvāla Pravahana 156.  
 Jāvāla Satyakāma 156.  
 Jehosphant 71.  
 Jetavana 213.

Jetuttura city 181.  
 Jevons 154, 154 fn.  
 Jivaka 192.  
 Joseph 20.  
 Jubbalpur 2.  
 Judea 163.  
 Julius Africanus 18.  
 Jumna, river 23, 181, 264.  
 Jyotistoma 141.

## K

Kabul, river 22.  
 Kaikeyi 174.  
 Kaegi 26, 44.  
 Kaira 2.  
 Kajangala, city 181.  
 Kālābagh 19.  
 Kalinga 18, 262, 279, 280 fn.  
 Kamboja 112, 158, 265.  
 Kammasadamma, city 183.  
 Kanita 19.  
 Kapilāvastu 181, 200, 264.  
 Kapgalla 3, 5.  
 Karayandra 74.  
 Karnool 2, 4.  
 Kathiawar 4, 11, 16.  
 Kashmere 213.  
 Kassites, the 13 fn., 146.  
 Kasu 78.  
 Kaurama, King 173.  
 Kauśalyā 32, 120, 121.  
 Kauśāmveya 82.  
 Kauśāmvi 179, 236.  
 Kauṭalya 271.  
 Kautamvara 221, 265.  
 Kauṭilya, 189, 268 fn., 270, 272 fn.  
 Kavasha 155.  
 Kākṣivan 78.  
 Kālī, river 182.  
 Kālī, slave-girl 255, 257.  
 Kāmpila 81.  
 Kāmpilya 81, 181.



Kāśī Bharadvāja 198, 211.  
 Kāśī kingdom 95, 156, 181, 182, 187, 197  
 243, 280.  
 Kāśia 181.  
 Kāśyapa Buddha 181, 255.  
 Kātyāyana 141, 245.  
 Kāverī, river 99 fn., 124.  
 Kāveripattana 181.  
 Keith, A. B. 1 fn.  
 Kekaya kingdom 122.  
 Kekayas, the 156.  
 Kennedy 163, 163 fn.  
 Kern 192 fn.  
 Khandagiri 236.  
 Khara 133.  
 Khorasan 13, 17.  
 Khujjuttarā 254.  
 Khullakalmāṣa, city 183.  
 Kiśorīmohan Sen Gupta 92 fn.  
 Kiṣkindhyā kingdom 95.  
 Kitagiri, nigama 181.  
 Kikāṣa (= Magadha) 22.  
 Knox, H. 5.  
 Koli city 181.  
 Koliya country 181.  
 Koliya city 200.  
 Koliyans 200.  
 Kośala 8, 95, 105 fn., 185, 187, 192, 237,  
 243, 253, 255; 263, 279.  
 Kośam 181.  
 Kośamvi 181, 264.  
 Kosiyagotta 121, 192.  
 Krumu, (= Kurrum) river 22.  
 Ktesias 163, 164, 260, 260 fn.  
 Kubhā, river 22.  
 Kukundhas, the 139.  
 Kūkūrabhas, the 139.  
 Kulli (fabrics) 16.  
 Kulluga 183.  
 Kumbhakarṇa 147.  
 Kundagāma 183.  
 Kuṇḍiya city 181.

Kurnool 8.  
 Kurram, river 22.  
 Kurunga 78.  
 Kurupāñchāla country 166.  
 Kurus, the 81.  
 Kuśa, prince 237.  
 Kuśanagara 181.  
 Kuśinagara 180, 181.  
 Kuśinārā 181, 264.  
 Kuvera 147.  
 Kymore (cave paintings) 5.

## L

La Cuperie 162.  
 Ladak 210.  
 Ladders, the 73.  
 Lakṣmī 142.  
 Lang-pa 162.  
 Lankā, city 103, 121, 146, 148, 162.  
 Larkana, district 11.  
 Lassen, C. 21, 21 fn. 71.  
 Leormant 18, 72.  
 Levant 69.  
 Lichehhavis, the 252, 257.  
 Limbi 16.  
 Lomapāda, King 97.  
 London 115, 214 fn.  
 Longhurst 8 fn., 9 fn.  
 Ludwig 26, 51, 52 fn. 74.  
 Lydekker, R. 210.

## M

Mackay, E. 17 fn.  
 Macdonell 22 fn., 23 fn., 25 fn., 26, 29, 32,  
 33 fn., 34, 34 fn., 35 fn., 38, 38 fn., 44, 45  
 fn., 46 fn., 49, 49 fn., 54 fn., 59, 63 fn., 66  
 fn., 67, 68, 74 fn., 81, 84 fn., 91 fn., 88  
 91 fn., 125, 157, 164 fn., 166 fn., 174 fn.,  
 fn., 245 fn.  
 Madhurā city 181.  
 Madhyadeśa 81.

Madras, the 182.  
 Magadha 81, 95. 181, 184, 190, 191, 192, 238.  
 Mahānāma 198, 253.  
 Mahāpārśva 147.  
 Mahādhara 107, 132.  
 Mahāgovinda 184.  
 Mahārāṣṭra 76.  
 Mahāvīra 76.  
 Mahendra 264.  
 Malabar Coast 72, 163.  
 Malayāchala hill 124.  
 Malaya Archipelago 162 fn.  
 Malladeśa 180.  
 Mallikā 253.  
 Manes, King 19.  
 Mantharā 121.  
 Manu, King 191, 147.  
 Manu, the Great 28.  
 Manu as Adam of the race 84 fn., 89, 90.  
 Manu, law-giver 133, 248 fn. 252, 269.  
 Manu, the Indian Noah 151.  
 Marco Polo 164.  
 Margalla spur 184.  
 Marshall, Sir John 11 fn., 184 fn.  
 Maski 4.  
 Mathurā city 181.  
 Matsya 95.  
 Manbhāpāra (rock carvings) 5—6.  
 Mauryan 145, 166.  
 Mauryas the 165, 166.  
 Max Duncker 72.  
 Max Muller 45, 57, 58, 94 fn., 119, 135 fn., 2 24 fn., 239 fn.  
 Maya 121, 147.  
 Mādurā 56 fn.  
 Māgadhi, river 95.  
 Māhiesatī city 181, 264.  
 Māruts 30, 48, 75.  
 Mc Crindle 70 fn., 163 fn., 202 fn., 210 fn., 262 fn., 280 fn.  
 Medhyatithi 78.

Medhājanana ceremony 217.  
 Mediantish 21.  
 Mediterranean Sea 69.  
 Megasthenes 200, 210, 210 fn., 229, 280, 280 fn.  
 Mehi 16.  
 Mesha inscriptions 260.  
 Mesopotami 11, 14, 17.  
 Mihran, river 11.  
 Mirzapur 6.  
 Mithilā city 182, 185.  
 Mitra (god) 24.  
 Mohenzo Daro 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 73 fn., 120.  
 Montgomery 11.  
 Morhana Pahar 2.  
 Mrs. Manning 21 fn., 34 fn.  
 Mrs. Rhys Davids 74 fn., 193, 360.  
 Muir 29, 49, 49 fn., 54 fn., 58.  
 Mujavant mountain 34.  
 Murree ridge 184.  
 Mutibas 81.  
 Mysore 4.

## N

N. Dutt 192 fn.  
 N. G. Mazumdar 11.  
 N. N. Ghosh 264 fn.  
 Nachiketas 121.  
 Naisadas 81.  
 Nandanakānana 147.  
 Nandana, city 182.  
 Nara canal, Eastern 11.  
 Navagvas 30.  
 Navavāstva 153 fn.  
 Nābhānediṣṭha 94, 40.  
 Nāgamuṇḍā 253.  
 Nāgojibhaṭṭa 165.  
 Nālandā 264.  
 Nearchos 74, 210, 226 fn., 228.  
 Nebonidus 17, 72, 163;  
 Nebuchadnezzar 17, 72, 163.

Nellore 2,  
 Nepal 214, 236.  
 Nerbuda find 1.  
 Nilab, river 19.  
 Nilgiri 4.  
 Niveditā, Sister 148 fn.  
 Noah, Indian 161.  
 North America 61.  
 Nuagarh 2.

## O

Obermaier 1.  
 Oldenburg 51, 83, 231, 233 fn.  
 Oldham 2 fn.  
 Ophir 71.  
 Grissa 205, 236.  
 Osborn 1 fn.  
 Oudh 81.  
 Oxus 73.

## P

Paippalāda 107 fn.  
 Paithān 182.  
 Pajra 78.  
 Palmyra 74.  
 Pampā, river 95.  
 Pañchavaṭi Forest 105 fn., 122.  
 Pañchasaṅgadiya ceremony 110.  
 Pañchānana Mitra 4 fn., 5, 5 fn., 6 fn.  
 Parāvij 63.  
 Parivakra city 82.  
 Parjanya (god) 31, 79, 178, 199.  
 Parikṣhit 178.  
 Parsu 78.  
 Partabgunj 2.  
 Pasenadi, King 185, 237, 253.  
 Patitṭhāna city 182, 264.  
 Patna Museum 7.  
 Pākasthāman Kaurayān 78.  
 Pañchāla 81, 82, 156, 181, 279.  
 Pāndukulis 10.

Pāpini 114 fn., 167, 202, 213, 216, 221, 228,  
 236, 248, 251, 259, 265, 268, 268 fn.,  
 269, 269 fn., 274.  
 Pārasi, country 40, 48.  
 Pāṭaligrāma 184.  
 Pāṭaliputra 184, 264.  
 Pāṭaliputtaka 182.  
 Percy Brown 5 fn.  
 Persia 17, 73, 163.  
 Persian Gulf 69, 70, 72, 73, 260, 261.  
 Papis, the 74, 79.  
 Persians 114, 135, 200 fn., 210.  
 Philostratus 18, 19.  
 Phoenicia 69.  
 Phoenicians 69, 70.  
 Pijavana 78.  
 Pipru 26.  
 Piprawah Stupa 214, 218, 229.  
 Pischel 26, 65.  
 Pliny 114, 135, 200 fn., 210.  
 Pococke 19 fn., 20.  
 Polāsapura 182, 187, 225.  
 Poṭali city in Kāśī kingdom 182.  
 Poṭali city in Āśmaka kingdom 182.  
 Poṭana city 182.  
 Prajāpati 114, 125.  
 Praśasta 147.  
 Prastoka 78.  
 Prāpanātha, Dr. 271.  
 Prākṛta dialects 269.  
 Pṛthusravas 79.  
 Ptolemy 162 fn.  
 Pulindas 81.  
 Pun 72.  
 Punna 263.  
 Puppā 258.  
 Pundras 81.  
 Punt 18.  
 Pūrṇa 259.  
 Purukutsa 153.  
 Pūrṇamāsī rite 141.  
 Pūshan (god) 35, 36, 40, 48, 112.



## R

R. Śyāmā Śāstri 268 fn.  
 Ragozin 49, 49 fn., 67.  
 Raigarh 4, 5, 5 fn.  
 Raikka 89, 129, 173.  
 Rajjumālā 255.  
 Ramapaka. city 182.  
 Rameśa Dutt 28 fn.  
 Ramses 19.  
 Rapson 23 fn., 25 fn., 38 fn., 67 fn., 68 fn.  
     81, 87 fn., 193 fn., 248 fn., 266 fn.  
 Rassam 17, 72, 163.  
 Rathavimocaniya oblations 165.  
 Raurava (= Roruka), city 262.  
 Rawalpindi 264.  
 Rawlinson 73 fn., 209 fn., 210 fn., 280 fn.  
 Rājagaha 182.  
 Rājagīha 182.  
 Rājagṛha 179, 180, 182, 186, 191, 192,  
     236, 256, 263.  
 Rājasūya 110, 165, 174.  
 Rākhāladāsa Banerji 11.  
 Rāma 19, 95, 105 fn., 120, 121, 122, 124,  
     125, 133, 142, 158, 174, 178.  
 Rāmakṛṣṇa, commentator 223 fn.  
 Rāpti, river 182.  
 Rāvapa 120, 121, 122, 124, 130, 140, 142,  
     170, 171, 175.  
 Rea 7, 8 fn.  
 Red Sea 69, 74, 162.  
 Reinaud 162 fn.  
 Rhinocolura 70.  
 Rhys Davids 166, 182 fn., 183 fn., 188,  
     191 fn., 197 fn., 231, 233 fn., 234 fn.,  
     236 fn., 237 fn., 253, 256 fn., 262, 262fn.,  
     263, 265 fn.  
 Ribhus 24.  
 Richard, F. J. 9 fn.  
 Ridgeway, Prof. 9.  
 Rijrāśva 24, 63.  
 Robertson 70 fn.

Rohiṇī, river 181, 200.  
 Roman 66, 254.  
 Rome 21, 153.  
 Roruka, city 182, 262.  
 Roth, Von 49, 51, 52, 55, 128, 156, 166.  
 Royle, Dr. 20, 70.  
 Ruauwelle Dagobā 135.  
 Rudra (god) 36, 75, 76, 84.  
 Ruṣamas 78, 173.

## S

S. Krishnaswami Iyenger 73.  
 Sabaras 81.  
 Sabeans 72.  
 Sadāmatta city 182.  
 Sagula, city 182.  
 Sahajāti 264.  
 Sahara, desert 19.  
 Sahri-Sokhta 16.  
 Śakula 187.  
 Salt Range 34.  
 Samarra 17.  
 Sambalpur 2.  
 Sambara, an asura 26, 27.  
 Saṃkissa city 182.  
 Saṃkīṣa 182.  
 Sangai, river 2.  
 Santal Parganas 205.  
 Saptagu, a sage 55.  
 Śarkarā, nigama 182.  
 Saraju, river 22, 182.  
 Saraswati, river 22, 38, 81.  
 Saraswati 27.  
 Sasarpārī 80.  
 Satvata 81.  
 Śaunaka, a sage 177 fn.  
 Sautramāpl, rite 141.  
 Savitar, (god) 161.  
 Saxony 122.  
 Sayce, Dr. 17, 72.  
 Sāgala, city 182, 264.  
 Sākala (= Sialkot) 182.

- Sāketa, city 179, 182, 264.  
 Śākyas 200, 236, 253.  
 Sālavatī 257.  
 Sālātura, city 182.  
 Sālindiya, village 191.  
 Sāmkāśya, city 182.  
 Sānchi Topes 233 fn.  
 Śāntanu 156.  
 Sāti 244.  
 Sāyana 28 fn., 33, 46, 56, 79, 84, 89, 89 fn.,  
 90, 100, 114, 128, 165, 166.  
 Schiørn, Dr. 210.  
 Schoff 70 fn., 74 fn.  
 Schrader, Otto 22 fn., 24, 45, 49, 49 fn., 50,  
 130, 131.  
 Scotland 10.  
 Senegal, river 19.  
 Setavya, city 182.  
 Seth Māheṣṭha 182.  
 Shalmanesar 163.  
 Sheftovitch 146.  
 Sialkot 182.  
 Sidon 69, 74.  
 Simrock 98 fn.  
 Simhavāhu, King 187.  
 Simhala, lion-prince 261.  
 Sind 11, 12, 48, 66, 95, 112, 120, 153, 264,  
 265.  
 Sindon 11, 120.  
 Sindhu, river 38.  
 Singanpur 4.  
 Singhbhum 5.  
 Sirimā 257.  
 Sistan 14, 17.  
 Siva 20.  
 Śivi, country 180, 181, 220, 265.  
 Sitā 105, 120, 122, 123, 124, 161, 175.  
 Sitā (goddess of Furrow) 199.  
 Skylax 74, 261.  
 Smith, Elliot 6.  
 Smith, V. A. 1 fn., 7, 7 fn., 61, 184 fn.,  
 236, 261 fn.  
 Soma, King 118.  
 Sourāṣṭra 95.  
 Souvira, 95.  
 Sovira kingdom 182, 264.  
 Śrāvastī, city 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 192,  
 213, 237, 243, 244, 251, 259, 263, 264,  
 265, 267.  
 Srukta, an asura 27.  
 St. Paul 236.  
 Stein, Auriel Sir 11, 14.  
 Stevenson 34, 141 fn.  
 Strabo 70 fn., 199 fn., 200 fn., 163, 212 fn.,  
 214 fn.  
 Subimal Sarkar 51 fn., 52, 57 fn., 119,  
 127 fn., 128.  
 Sudas 78, 156.  
 Sudarśana hill 124.  
 Suez 14.  
 Sugriva 161.  
 Snidaitissa 135.  
 Sumatra 162 fn.  
 Sumer 13, 17, 72, 73, 260.  
 Sumpsumara city 182—83.  
 Sumva kingdom 181.  
 Sunahṣepha 83.  
 Sundas 19.  
 Supara, city 260.  
 Supāraga, a pilot 266.  
 Suppāraka, city 183, 260, 262, 263.  
 Surasenas, the 181.  
 Surundhana, city 182.  
 Susa 14, 17.  
 Suvarpabhūmi (= Burma) 261, 261 fn., 264.  
 Suvarpadwipa 162, 162 fn.  
 Suvarparekhā, river 2.  
 Svāsta (= Swat), river 22.  
 Sūrya 39.  
 Suryarikā (= Sahara desert) 17.  
 Svanadratha 78.  
 Svanaya 78.  
 Svātivatī 183.  
 Swat, river 22.

Sylvain Levi, 84 fn.  
 Syncellus 19.  
 Syria 73, 260.

## T

Takkṣhaṣṭhā 183.  
 Talchir 2.  
 Tan ba Sunda 19.  
 Tanjore 56 fn.  
 Tarshis 71.  
 Taxila 60, 82, 183, 184, 199, 239, 264.  
 Tāmralipti 264.  
 Tāmraparpi, river 6, 16.  
 Tāmraparpidwipa (- Ceylon) 261, 261 fn.  
 Telavāha river 180.  
 Tennet 135 fn.  
 Tepeh Musyan 17.  
 Thebes 17.  
 Theobald 10.  
 Thor 40.  
 Tigris, river 72, 73 fn.  
 Tilak, B. G. 91 fn.  
 Tinnevelly cemeteries 6, 8.  
 Tinnevelly 4, 16, 18.  
 Tīrhut 81.  
 Tirindra 78.  
 Tīrthikas 186.  
 Tobit 106.  
 Touche La 4 fn.  
 Trasadasya 78, 153.  
 Trisanku 183.  
 Trita 30.  
 Tugra 68.  
 Turvasas 153 fn.  
 Tvaṣṭi 62.  
 Tvaṣṭu 141.  
 Tylos, isle 70.  
 Tyre 74.

## U

U. N. Ghosal 88, 88 fn.  
 U. S. A. 155.

Udayagiri 236.  
 Udayana, King 181, 236.  
 Udicca Brahmins 238.  
 Ugrajit 177.  
 Ugrampasyā 177.  
 Ujjain 183, 187, 264.  
 Ukkatṭha, city 183.  
 Ukthya, rite 141.  
 Ur 13, 17, 72, 163.  
 Usinaras, the 81.  
 Uttarakośala 182.  
 Uttarakurus 81.  
 Uttara Madras 81.  
 Uttara Mathurā 183.  
 Uttara Pāñchāla 243, 265.

## V

Vaidarva 82.  
 Vajjis, the 184.  
 Vala (Asura chief) 69.  
 Valarāmapur 182.  
 Vanga 95, 187.  
 Vapijagāma 183, 257.  
 Varapāvati, river 158.  
 Varuṇa (god) 24, 56, 67, 79.  
 Vasas, the 81.  
 Vasiṣṭha 68, 132, 191, 191 fn., 192, 193,  
 193 fn., 194, 195, 196, 226, 229, 249,  
 249 fn., 250, 250 fn., 267 fn., 271 fn.,  
 274, 275, 276, 276 fn., 277, 277 fn.  
 Vatsya, country 236.  
 Vājsapeya, ceremony 110, 141.  
 Vālmiki 105 fn., 156.  
 Vāli 129.  
 Vārāpaśi 180.  
 Vāsavakhattiya 253.  
 Vāyu (god) 34, 112.  
 Vedaśa 264.  
 Vendidad 23.  
 Veśālī 188, 185, 192, 244, 264.  
 Vibhīṣaṇa 147.  
 Videha 81, 156, 166.



Vidura 258.  
 Vimalā 257.  
 Vincent, Dr. 20.  
 Vindhyan regions 113, 158.  
 Virgil 70 fn.  
 Viṣṇu 30.  
 Viśākhā 182, 217.  
 Viśpalā 63.  
 Viśwantara, King 156.  
 Viśwantara, prince 274 fn.  
 Viśwāmitra 61, 64, 82, 156.  
 Viśwakarma 147.  
 Viśvarūpa, a sage 141.  
 Vivinda 78.  
 Vratyas 130, 137, 138, 165, 226.  
 Vriśāhagir 24.  
 Vṛtra, asura chief 30, 69, 96, 176.  
 Vṛtras 26.

W

Wahindah 11.  
 Walhorse, N. J. 8 fn.  
 Walker 247.  
 Waziristan 14.  
 Weber 58, 98 fn., 150 fn., 172, 178 fn.  
 West End 185.  
 Wilkinson 21.  
 Wilson 27, 27 fn., 28 fn., 65, 77, 79, 89 fn.,  
 210.

Winckler, Dr. 163.  
 Woolney 13, 17.  
 Wynaad 4, 5.

X

Xerxes, King 214.

Y

Yama 119, 128, 174.  
 Yamunā 23.  
 Yaśodharā 181.  
 Yavadwipa 162, 162 fn.  
 Yādava prince 66.  
 Yādavas, the 78, 153 fn.  
 Yādavaprakāśa 183 fn.  
 Yājñabalkya 111, 170.  
 Yaska 69 fn., 156.  
 Yeats, J. 162.  
 Yemen 18, 72.  
 Yimir, giant 61.  
 Yudhājit, Kekayarāja 120, 121.

Z

Zagros Range 73.  
 Ziggarets 230.  
 Zimmer 25, 25 fn., 52, 58, 74, 91 fn., 127,  
 142 fn., 150 fn., 227 fn.